

MANOLIS GLEZOS

**GERMANY'S DEBTS TO GREECE**  
162 BILLION EURO PLUS 70 YEARS INTEREST

LIVANIS PUBLISHING ORGANIZATION  
ATHENS  
2013



The author's income from the sales of the book  
will be donated to ΕΣΔΟΓΕ  
and other resistance organizations.

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In memoriam

- Of the antifascist German soldiers who fought against Nazism either by forming Anti-Nazi organizations (AKFD = Antifascistisches Komitee Deutschersoldaten “Freies Deutschland” = Antifascist Committee of German Soldiers “Free Germany”, AEEΓ and ΓΑΑΣ = German Antifascist League) or defecting to Greek Resistance organizations.
- Of the Greek patriots who resisted the invasions and the occupation.
- The founding members of the Coordinating Committee of the Greek National Council for WAR Reparation Claims Against Germany: (ΕΣΔΟΓΕ):
  1. Spyros Andreadis
  2. Peter Andaiou
  3. Andreas Dabasi
  4. Lefteris Lebesis
  5. Magdalene Litina
  6. George-Alexander Magakis
  7. Kostas Papagiannakis
  8. Apostolos Santas
  9. Yannis Stathopoulos
  10. Yannis Stamoulis



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## **PROLOGUE**

**by Evangelos Machairas**

Some 68 years ago, I was amazed to hear that the German flag was removed from the Acropolis of occupied Athens. After the liberation of Greece, we learned that the perpetrators were Manolis Glezos and the departed Apostolos Santas, whom we recently laid to rest in the First Cemetery of Athens. I was then a lawyer in Tripoli and was moved by that patriotic initiative, feeling, like many Greeks, the desire to do something myself. Thus I joined the National Resistance against the German occupiers.

Later, when I was transferred to Athens and helped unionize lawyers (as President of the "New Movement Athens Bar"; member of the Athens Bar Association Advisory Board, Vice President, and during the three years from 1981 to 1984, its President), I followed with interest Manolis Glezos' struggles for a betterment of the lot of the Greek People (an effort of his to organize a mass movement aiming at a more equitable society) and also his struggle for international peace.

And while up to then I had been simply an admirer, I became his comrade-in-arms in his magnificent struggles. As part of this collaboration, we both worked on the problem of Germany's debts to Greece, debts arising from the crimes committed by German troops against the Greek state and the Greek people during the German occupation of 1941 to 1944. This led us, together with the presidents of all organizations of National Resistance fighters, to found the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany in early 1996.

Though the peoples of Europe fell victim to unprecedented crimes committed by the German occupying forces, after the end of World War II, when they were finally freed from occupation, they treated the German people in an obviously humane manner, and contributed significant amounts of money to help them survive their crushing defeat and the total wreckage of the German economy.

After the end of the war, representatives of the European Nations had to determine how Germany would compensate the countries it occupied from 1939 to 1944 for the damages it caused to them.

The 1946 Paris Peace Conference obliged Germany to pay war reparations to Greece in the amount of \$7,100,000,000, (1938 market value) in compensation for wrecking its economic infrastructure (confiscations, looting, destruction of factories, road networks, the Isthmus of Corinth, etc.). The Paris Conference did not deal with the claims of individuals.

Proportional amounts were adjudicated for other occupied countries as well, but the total amount of these awards was so huge, that they could not be paid by Germany, actually West Germany, since East Germany was occupied by the U.S.S.R.

For these reasons, the Allies at the 1953 London Conference gave Germany a reprieve from compensating its victims, until a peace treaty could be signed and Germany was reunited, an event that was a long time in coming. As is well known,

this happened in 1990 in Moscow (the 4+2 Treaty), one of the provisions of which extended the reprieve for another 5-years till the end of 1995.

After 1990, successive Greek governments should have demanded payment from what was now a united Germany, not only for the amounts we were awarded by the Paris Conference, but also for damages caused to all sectors of the Greek economy and to Greek citizens, not to mention the return of the monies from the famed occupation loan, and the archeological treasures looted from our archaeological museums as well as from the archaeological digs in our land. Instead, not only did they make no efforts in this direction, but on the contrary, with its notorious Article 923 of the civil-law code, according to which "seizure of assets of a foreign country cannot be executed without prior consent of the Greek Minister of Justice", they blocked the initiatives of citizens who brought lawsuits before Greek courts seeking the conviction of Germany. It was hoped that through these, Germany would be obliged to compensate the victims of German occupation forces, such as the residents of Distomo who were awarded the sum of 5,000,000 drachmas for "pain and suffering" they endured during the destruction of the town and the murder of dozens of their fellow citizens by German troops. But the Greek Minister of Justice in fact didn't consent to the execution of the aforementioned decision of the Supreme Court. As for material damages (torched houses, automobiles, agricultural machinery, etc.) their court suit was found vague... lacking detailed descriptions (e.g., how many beds, chairs, and tables existed in each house) and thus was summarily rejected.

Accordingly, and because court decisions reached in one country of the European Union must be carried out in all other EU countries, the late Yannis Stamoulis attempted to execute this decision in Italy, and to confiscate German land located in Florence.

However, the Greek judiciary was not satisfied with the aforementioned decision of the Supreme Court regarding Distomo. Its President, Stefanos Matthias, who cast a minority vote in decision #12/2002, of the Plenary Session of the Supreme Court, referred a similar case to the Special Appeals Court, which rendered the following amazing ruling in a vote of 6 to 4:

1. Germany has the right of extraterritoriality, and consequently is not subject to decisions of a Greek court.
2. Victims of the German occupation do not have individual rights to seek redress in court; rather their claims for compensation are a matter to be resolved through intergovernmental negotiations, which have not taken place in the 68 years following our liberation - nor will they ever take place, given the tactics followed by the Greek governments so far).

Besides, in 1950, the then Prime Minister, Constantine Karamanlis, instead of demanding the amounts awarded at the Paris Conference, requested a loan of 50,000,000 Deutschmarks! In other words, he said "you don't owe us anything, please just give us a small loan," which of course the Germans never gave us.

As if that were not bad enough, a few years later, to satisfy a request from German Jews who had taken refuge in America following the fall of Hitler, the United States obliged Germany to compensate victims of National Socialism ideology, i.e., mainly Jews, communists, and other opponents of National Socialism. This measure applied to all such victims, irrespective of their country of residence, e.g., the Jews of Thessaloniki, in Greece, for whom the Germans paid us 115,000,000 Marks.

At that time, the infamous criminal Merten, who had sent the Jews of Thessaloniki to Auschwitz, after first having robbed them, dared visit Greece to testify in defense of another German criminal. The then prosecutor Andreas Tousis recognized and arrested Merten, who was later sentenced to 20 years in prison. The Germans made a major effort to set him free, and using as an excuse the payment of the 115,000,000 Marks mentioned above, Karamanlis agreed to let Merten serve out the remainder of his sentence in Germany. Not content with this, he agreed to have all German criminals awaiting trial in Greek courts returned to Germany to be tried there for crimes committed in Greece! Naturally, the Germans released Merten and found all the other German defendants not guilty!

Following pressure brought to bear by ΕΣΔΟΓΕ\*, two parliamentary commissions were recently set up to deal with this major national issue. Those who followed their deliberations were strongly disappointed.

The Members of Parliament were not cognizant of the issues at stake. They did not invite Manolis Glezos, the chairman of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ to educate them. Nor did they invite me, the Secretary General of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, even though I had treated the matter in some detail in my book *50 Years Later*. They thought that *“there are no relative documents in the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Financial Affairs”* and...they decided to start collecting data.

They claimed ignorance of the fact that the Paris Peace Conference of 1946 had already decided to award Greece \$7,100,000,000 (U.S., 1946 market value) as compensation for the destruction of the country’s economic infrastructure. They claimed ignorance of the fact that they could find in Italy the agreement of 1942 (between Germany and Italy), which obliged Greece to lend them the amounts stipulated by the famed occupation loan. The General Accounting Office claimed that they had no data about this, as did the Bank of Greece!

Many books have been written about Germany’s outstanding debts to Greece. The present one, however, by Manolis Glezos, meticulously records all German obligations to Greece, starting with debts that go back to World War I, debts that still remain outstanding, and which Greek governments have long... forgotten, even though it concerns significant amounts (\$523,873,000 U.S.). There follow the debts from the import-export “clearing” dating from the period between the two Wars, an equally significant amount (80,000,000 Marks).

Coming to the period of the German occupation in 1941-1944, one realizes that no other enslaved peoples suffered as much wear in human and material resources as the Greek people: the sack of the productive capacity of the Greek economy; the terrible genocide through food privation, executions, and holocausts; seizure and confiscation of all products found in state warehouses and at the country’s harbors; takeover of all mines and confiscation of all minerals, fuels, and mineral deposits; transfer of the country’s foreign markets to Germany; confiscation of 51% of all of Greece’s commercial, industrial, and banking enterprises, state-run and private.

Besides the obligation to feed occupation troops that international treaties require of a country’s citizens, as long as the country under occupation can afford it, Germany also forced us to sustain Rommel’s expeditionary forces in Africa. We therefore were paying huge amounts for the sustenance of 500,000 German, 250,000 Italian, and 60,000 Bulgarian soldiers, a total of 810,000, and in addition, the Africa Corps. At the same time, the occupation forces were busy looting Greek shops, using the worthless currency they supplied their soldiers with. They “bought” whatever they fancied, the Germans using Reichmarks, the Italians mediteranean drachmes, and the

Bulgarians an occupation currency of their own. The goods they took had a total value of 574,000 English pounds, but the shopkeepers got worthless paper.

As a result of all this savage looting, the Greek population went hungry, losing 600,000 persons from death due to starvation.

The conquerors didn't stop here, though. The Germans seized the 10- and 20-drachma metallic coins they found in the basement of the Bank of Greece (18.88 tons of silver, 71.1 tons of copper, 10.2 tons of nickel, and 1.55 tons of zinc, worth 35,000 pounds).

Also, the Agreement of Germany and Italy in Rome in 1942, forced Greece to issue to these two occupying powers the infamous occupation loan which came to 45,000,000 gold pounds, 2/3 of which went to Germany, and 1/3 to Italy.

As if all this wasn't enough, a "tithe" tax of 10% was imposed upon Greek agricultural production. Besides, from the first day of the Occupation, they seized schools, hospitals, hotels and other dwellings, as well as all means of transportation on land and water. And while all these requisitions were made by official authorities, officers as well as privates confiscated whatever they liked, or in other words, engaged in systematic plundering (jewelry, silver, furniture, food, etc.).

Besides describing in detail various forms of theft suffered by the Greek people, Manolis Glezos devotes special chapters to the ridiculous arguments that Germans use to justify their refusal to repay their debt to Greece, e.g., that the German tourists spend a lot of money in Greece; or that Germany, as a member of the European Union, already pays the largest share of subsidies to Greece or finally, that Greek demands have lapsed due to the statute of limitations, even though, as explained above, Greece was obliged by treaty to suspend its demands until December 31, 1990.

Glezos reminds us that:

1. Germany has paid reparations to all of the other occupied countries, but not to Greece.
2. The other two occupying countries, Italy and Bulgaria, have paid us in various ways, the reparations they owed.

That is, his book provides the most complete account to date of the German obligations to Greece, and of the unacceptable behavior of Germany towards the Greek people, to whom Germany owes not only war reparations, but also a cultural debt dating back to antiquity.

Especially regarding the occupation loan, the Germans maintain that although it started out as compulsory, because its terms were modified in agreement with the "Greek government," it was converted to a conventional one, thus suspension (of repayment) should not pertain to it and instead it lapsed.

But which Greek government are they talking about? The Tsolakoglou government? Who named him Prime Minister? The Germans did, not the Greek people. He carried out German orders and not those of the Greek people. Thus there has been no modification whatsoever of the terms of the loan effected with the consent of the Greek people. This loan has remained compulsory and its repayment has not lapsed.

In Manolis Glezos' book, all the German excuses and justifications are refuted, and the responsibility of the Greek governments is brought out in particular as regards their timidity and their inept exercise of national prerogatives. Fortunately a group of 37 MPs in the current Parliament broached the subject.

In 1995, when I published my book *50 Years Later*, I wrote that both the General Accounting Office and the Bank of Greece had given me the data about the sums our country paid to feed the occupation forces, and I recorded them on page 40 of my book.

And some years back, when Manolis Glezos requested them from the then Director of the Bank of Greece and recent Prime Minister Lucas Papadimos, the latter didn't deny their existence, but answered that he needed the permission of the government to turn them over. (Good Lord, the debts Germany owes to Greece is a state secret!)

Truly, if they destroyed the data, they should be indicted by the Attorney General. If they're lying, they should be held accountable to the Greek people. In any event, the amount Germany owes us for wrecking our economic infrastructure has been awarded to us by the International Paris Conference of 1945, the archives of which still survive... along with the data regarding the compulsory loan.

The attitude of the Greek political parties in power towards Germany is apparently due to the mistaken perception that pursuing the claims for war reparations from Germany will harm German-Greek relations. But why don't they seek repatriation of Greece's archaeological treasures? We constantly seek the return of Acropolis' Elgin Marbles from Great Britain; and from the French, the Venus of Milo and our relations with these two countries have not deteriorated.

A few days ago, however, the Germans declared that after 70 years, there are no debts owed to Greece, i.e., they invoked the lapse, and no one, neither the Prime Minister nor the heads of the political parties, retorted with "War crimes and the obligations arising from them do not lapse."

EVANGELOS MACHAIRAS

Captain machine gun company, Hellenic Liberation Army

President, Bar Association of Athens

Secretary, ΕΣΔΟΓΕ

\* the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany



## FOREWORD

*“If you bury the truth in the ground, it grows large in there and gathers such explosive force that when it goes off, it sweeps away everything before it.”*

From “J’accuse” by Emil Zola, in 1898

The contemptuous, belittling, and full of degrading affronts, even brutal attitude of Germany towards Greece, seems at first sight, inexplicable, and understandably raises several questions. What's going on? Why this callous conduct?

This attitude requires us, first and foremost, to recall what the Greek people suffered at the hands of German troops during the Occupation in the Second World War – the whole plan to dissolve Greece through its dismemberment and the annihilation of the Greek People through genocide – to highlight the current debts of Germany to Greece, to present the outstanding obligations of the former to the latter, and above all, to underscore the substantive and ethical aspects of the problem.

For our part, we, the fighters of the National Resistance, whatever our political affiliations which cover the whole political spectrum, with a view towards consolidating the friendship of the peoples of Germany and Greece, we started the uneven but just fight for the righting of wrongs and the dispensing of justice, and thereby created the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany (ΕΣΔΟΓΕ).

Even if the obligations of Germany amounted to just one German Deutschemerk, Germany would have the legal, the historic, and above all the ethical obligation to repay it to Greece.

Ignorance, as well as the deliberate confusion that has been created around this subject, justifies publication of this book.

We seek to inform, to make everybody understand what the problem is. We seek to uncover the issue of Germany’s debts to Greece, which has been buried in an underworld of oblivion, by German vindictiveness on the one hand, and on the other, by the fury against the National Resistance.

**We’re not gripped by hate against the German people. We deeply wish, we yearn in every way possible and hope for the friendship between the peoples of Germany and Greece. However, a precondition necessary for friendship is the restoration of justice.**

### Hitler’s aims

Once the field armies of the Wehrmacht<sup>1</sup> conquered Greece, Hitler’s premeditated triple plan for its annihilation took effect immediately. It would aim: at the dismemberment of the country, the inculcation of Fascism, and the extermination of the Greek People through starvation and executions.

There is no doubt that from a strategic perspective, the conquest of Greece sought not only to eject the English from continental Europe, but mainly to acquire a shorter access to Africa and the Middle East. From a military perspective, its goal was to shorten Germany's supply lines to Africa and remove the danger of bombardment of Romania's oil fields. The most important one, however, was to cover the back of the attack that Hitler was preparing against the U.S.S.R.

From a propaganda perspective, likewise, it was important to defeat Greece, a country that had destroyed the myth of Axis invincibility in its epic fight of 1940-41, and to trumpet that Continental Europe was now dominated by the Axis powers.

Beyond his strategic, military, and propaganda goals, Hitler wanted to subjugate Greece, to dismember it, grab its lands, and if he couldn't manage to turn it into a fascist country, exterminate the Greek People through hunger and executions. Those were Hitler's aims, his plans against the Greek People<sup>2</sup>.

### **The ethical side of the question**

However, this book mainly focuses on the debt of Germany to Greece, a debt not due to the damage of the country's economy as a consequence of military conflict<sup>3</sup> but to the preconceived, premeditated, and implemented subordination of the Greek economy to the Nazi yoke, till it was sucked dry by the Third Reich.

Beyond Germany's monetary debts, there's another mighty German debt to Greece. There's more to the issue than its financial side. There's also the ethical<sup>4</sup> side of the question, which includes:

1. The fact that Germany is not under Nazi rule today is due in part to the fight which Greece put up in the War. For in its epic struggle against the Germans in 1940-41, Greece proved that the Axis powers were not invincible; for in its resistance to Hitler's invasion in April of 1941, and in the Battle of Crete in May of 1941, Greece thwarted Hitler's military plans; and by its massive (1941-1944) resistance, immobilized 12 select divisions of the Wehrmacht on Greek soil, and prevented them from reaching other fronts<sup>5</sup> in the war.
2. Because Greeks died from starvation, Germans survived<sup>6</sup>. Because everything edible found in Greece was confiscated, impounded, and headed for Germany to feed its population. This is why the population of Greece numbered 7,334,860 people when the Occupation began, and 6,805,000<sup>7</sup> when it ended – a net population loss of 529,860.

### **Germany's assertions**

This book<sup>8</sup> attempts to run through all the events that allowed the Nazi occupiers to fleece the economy of Greece, to record and provide incontrovertible evidence of the debts owed by Germany to Greece.

Consequently, it also confronts head on, both the official as well as a variety of other assertions<sup>9</sup> of certain Germans regarding this issue. Ludicrous or seemingly fair assertions, intending to denigrate us, so that Greece, the country that was the first to prevail over Axis forces in a battle, becomes the laughingstock of the defeated.

Of course we could perhaps have passed these ridiculous assertions in silence, but it's worth looking into them, in order to tell the Germans who employ them that while we might be accused of naïveté, we are certainly not guilty of paranoia.

So some German journalists assert that German tourists who come to Greece are paying off Germany's debts with the monies they leave behind. If that's the case, what debts are the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Japanese and the Chinese settling?

A second assertion is that the monies which they contribute through the European Union have paid off their debts<sup>10</sup>. But Italy and Spain receive similar subsidies as Mediterranean countries. Besides, Greece also contributes its share to the European Union.

Their other assertions, the seemingly "fair" ones, concern the monies they gave to release war criminal Max Merten and the monies they gave as compensation for the hostages who worked in the horrific concentration camps in Greece and in Germany.

In this book, we prove in detail, in two separate chapters, how neither of these cases erases the debts to Greece. Both are miniscule (relative to the size of the German debt) and completely irrelevant when it comes to either the compulsory loan or the reparations awarded for the destruction of the country's economy, let alone the slaughter of victims and the holocausts.

Besides these ridiculous assertions, there are certain official ones.

In late August 1995, the German attaché in Athens visited the then Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Magakis to protest the actions of Greek citizens who as victims of Nazi atrocities had appealed to the Greek courts, demanding redress and compensation. In the discussion that followed, the German attaché claimed that the 2 + 4 Agreement of 1990 in Moscow rendered irrelevant the earlier London Debts Agreement of 1953.

But Article 5 of the London Agreement clearly foresees that the final settlement of reparations is postponed until a Peace Treaty is signed. The 2 + 4 Agreement, which serves as a "substitute peace treaty", deals with all issues concerning payment of German debts to occupied countries, actually stipulating that they should be repaid before 1995.

Another assertion of Germany was that "the problem of reparations lost its justificatory base" (in response to a Greek diplomatic note).

A groundless assertion made just for show.

Per another one, in accordance with the Agreement of March 18, 1960, Germany paid 115,000,000 Marks. But this amount was intended for Greek citizens victimized by Nazi persecution, and was paid to secure the release of Merten (see Chapter 5.1).

In that very Agreement (of March 18, 1960), it is stated explicitly that this amount does not cover the debts of Germany to Greece.

Another argument, which has not been brought up before by the Germans, but we posit now, could be: "*Why should present day Germans be blamed for the sins of their parents and grandparents?*" Without question, they have no responsibility, and we do not subscribe to the Biblical text of "*visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children and the children's children, to the third and the fourth generation,*" nor do we raise the specter of "collective guilt."

There exists however systematic propaganda designed to obscure this huge subject and to conceal the truth about acts committed by German troops in Greece. There was and is an attempt to present a "whitewashed Wehrmacht"<sup>11</sup>, claiming that brutal crimes were perpetrated only by Nazis. There is no willingness to acknowledge

that what happened in Greece was outrageously monstrous, and was committed by the German army, the Wehrmacht, rather than the Nazis alone<sup>12</sup>.

It is, certainly, Germany's internal business to expend 12 billion Marks every year on pensions for the SS. But it is completely unacceptable to refuse to face the truth. Apologies are not enough, and it's not even clear that that's what is proffered.

Pastor Michael Schweitzer in a speech stresses: *"1. Perhaps the word "reparations" needs to correspond to its implicit purpose. I understand this word to mean help, restore. I insist on this, in other words, during this restorative work, terms are often reversed: the person who is full of regret for the crimes he committed, and wants to make up for them, realizes that success depends on the person wanting to be made whole. 2. I hope that after 50 years, Germany will finally come to the decision to pay reparations to the victims and the survivors in Greece. The spirit in which this will take place plays a decisive role. [...] 7. I'd like the word "reparation" to be understood as helping one another, so that neither is forced to relive the past. 8. Memory is a laborious task for the victims and survivors, and is accompanied by great pain, intense sadness, certainly with enormous fear, and a feeling that is hard to describe... one of total emptiness, of absurdity, of abandonment. A feeling that certainly leads many to lose their powers of reasoning, or even to suicide. 9. Remembering is for the perpetrators and their ancestors, a lot similar, deep down, if one manages to break the shackles of self-defense mechanisms which we put into play when we want to avoid the shame, guilt, and sadness. 10. As for self-criticism: We Germans have not adequately worked on the memory process. Regarding Greece, names like Distomo, Kalavryta, and many others are almost unknown in Germany."* (Black Bible, page 25).

Grieving is not enough. Because anyone who does not want to remain oblivious to the facts, and wants to know the truth<sup>13</sup>, so as not to feel shame or guilty, must go on a pilgrimage to Distomo, to Kommemo, to Kalavryta, to Kandanos, to Hortiatis, to Ligiades, to Kerdilia, to Kessariani, all the martyred villages of Greece, 89 of which are internationally recognized as such, in order to confront the tragedy and horror that the Greek People experienced.

We want to free the Germans from the shame and the unconfessed crimes that their parents and grandparents committed. Only admitting guilt and making amends proves that they do not wish to be accessories to the heinous crimes committed by their ancestors, and that they do not feel hateful and vindictive.

It is unthinkable that **all the countries** of Europe conquered by Hitler's Germany have received war reparations, all except Greece. Why? Why this attitude towards Greece?

### Why this special attitude?

The question arises readily<sup>14</sup>. Why? Why this selective exclusion of Greece? Reparations have been paid to all European countries that came under Nazi occupation during World War II. **All, that is, except Greece.** Why has Greece been excluded? The question begs an answer. If none is forthcoming, we cannot remain complacent.

Besides, there is another subject that reeks of injustice.

Italy and Bulgaria, two countries which found themselves in control of parts of Greece, were ordered by the Allied Commission in Paris to make reparations with a certain amount – however small – that was assessed. These countries paid the amount assessed to boot.

It is reasonable to ask, however, if fascist Italy and fascist Bulgaria would have managed to conquer the parts of Greece that the Germans allocated to them, if Germany hadn't invaded and occupied Greece.

On what grounds, then, does Germany exempt itself from its obligations towards Greece, while Italy and Bulgaria fulfilled theirs?

This question remains unanswered, and inescapably leads to another one: **Could it be perhaps that the current leaders of Germany wish to punish the Greeks because they humiliated their parents and grandparents during World War II?** If this reflection isn't right, then why has Germany fulfilled its obligation to pay war reparations to all countries of Europe, **with the sole exception of Greece?** Is there any other explanation that today's Germany can provide?

If they can't answer this crucial question, they are wrong to think that they will escape History's Judgment. The Furies will pursue them for eternity and will hunt them down because they are guilty of injustice. History will stigmatize them continually and unfailingly. If they do not want to be smeared as ungrateful and unappreciative, and as defenders of injustice, they must restore justice. Truth and justice require restoration. There is no force, absolutely none, that can prevent the light of truth from shining through.

### **Germany's earlier debts**

It's worth noting that Germany's debts to Greece are even older. They precede World War II and are of two kinds:

Debt #1. War reparations that Germany owes to Greece because of the damage it caused during World War I. which amount to \$523,873,000 (U.S.)<sup>15</sup>.

Debt #2. The difference between the import and export of goods between the two World Wars, that amount to 80,000,000 Deutschemarks.

These are the earlier debts owed by Germany to Greece.

That's why their later World War II debts remain unpaid to date. They figure that since nobody pressed them to settle old debts, why should they bother settling more recent ones?

### **We do not beg, we demand**

In the book's Preamble, there is a brief account, on the one hand, of the German invasion of Greece and the Battle of Crete, such that the reader can appreciate the mood of the times; and on the other hand, the dismemberment of Greece into territories taken over by Italy, Albania and Bulgaria, as well as the effort to turn the Greek people into fascists. In case of refusal and reaction, the alternative was extermination by starvation and executions.

Germany could assume its responsibility towards history, if in the spirit of recognizing its responsibility toward the Greek People, it embarked on acts of humanity and solidarity, declaring: **"Is Greece in trouble? Let us help. Are the Greek People suffering? Let's assist them."**

Instead, we witness an unprecedented ingratitude and lack of appreciation. And this is why we are unavoidably led to consider whether the Germans of today exclaim together with Hitler... "Deutschland über Alles!" When pouncing on Greece

to deprive it of the last vestige of its financial well being, how can we think otherwise?

Greeks, in their naïveté and their benevolent simplicity, hoped for something different from what they got from the Germans. For this reason, even if it were only one Deutschemark that Germany owed to Greece, it should be paid, as a guarantee that whatever Germany did in the past will never again recur in the future.

That's why **we do not beg, but we demand** that Germany settles its debts to Greece in full<sup>16</sup>. Namely:

1. Return the archaeological treasures and works of art that were stolen from Greece.

2. Pay the \$7,100,000,000 (U.S.) [1938 market value] which the Allied Commission of 19 countries who met together in Paris adjudicated as reparations for the economic damage of Greece. Its current value in Euros is 108 Billion, not counting interest.

3. Pay the remaining balance of the compulsory loan, in the amount of \$3,500,000,000 (U.S.) [1938 market value]. Today's value in Euros is 54 Billion, not counting interest.

4. Compensate the victims of Nazi bestiality.

## PREAMBLE

### The German invasion

"In any case, the Greek People insist that their demands be regarded not as a REQUEST, but as an implacable RIGHT. We don't beg, we demand that Germany pay what it owes to Greece, as a debt towards reason, fairness, history, and Germany itself. The German people should know that our thoughts and our actions are not governed by revenge for the unspeakable crimes committed by the Nazi occupation forces against us. Rather, our aim is to restore what's fair, and at the same time develop friendship between our peoples."

Resolution of the Serres Prefectural Council  
(Decision 113/22, October 2010)

On April 6, 1941, at 5:15 in the morning, columns of the Wehrmacht invaded Greece and Yugoslavia.



Fig.1. From the entry of German troops in a Greek village..

In Greece the attack was carried out by the 12th Army with 32 divisions, 19 of which were motorized, with 1,900 tanks and 650 aircraft, 280 of which were bombers,

and 150 Stuka dive bombers. The total invasion forces numbered 485,718, or around 500,000 together with the air force. Their commander was Field Marshal Wilhelm Liszt.

The Greek-Bulgarian border, 40 kilometers long, from the border with Yugoslavia to Strymon was defended by only one Greek division, the 18th. Group W, which consisted of the 6th Australian Division, the 2nd New Zealand, and the 1st British Tank Brigade and two Greek divisions (the 12th and 20th), had deployed not to the rear of the Greek-Bulgarian border, but much further back, east of Aliakmon and up to the valley of Tempe.

The hell of fire created by the artillery and the air force, the tanks, and the attacks of infantry units did not bend and overcome Greek resistance. It was the commander of the Army Section of Eastern Macedonia (ΤΣΑΜ) who surrendered the front, and capitulated to the Germans on April 8, 1941. The final cease-fire protocol was signed at 2:00 p.m. on April 9, 1941. At 4:00 p.m., on April 9th, 1941, units of ΤΣΑΜ were ordered to stop fighting and surrender. Some obeyed, but others continued fighting until the bitter end; yet others fled to Turkey, to the islands of the Aegean and to Southern Greece, which had not yet been conquered.

Despite the struggle and the tough rearguard action of British and Greek troops, the invaders outgunned them considerably and were thus able to quickly advance, and occupy Florina on April 10; Veria on April 11; Ptolemais on April 13; Kozani and Katerini on April 14; Larisa on April 19; Thebes and Megara on April 25. On April 27, they seize Athens and raise the flag of the Third Reich (the swastika) on the Acropolis.

On April 26, the Germans seized the Isthmus of Corinth and the city of Patras; Kalamata on April 29; and by May 5, they completed the conquest of the Peloponnese.

Of the islands, Samothrace fell on April 19; Limnos on April 25; Milos on April 30; Mytilene and Chios on May 4.

On April 29, the Italians conquered Corfu and Kefalonia; and Zante on May 5.

### **The triple occupation**

Of the occupied countries of Europe, Greece was the only one to face three occupiers: Germany, Italy and Bulgaria.

Besides territories annexed by Italy (the Ionian and Cycladic Islands, and Samos), and Bulgaria (Eastern Macedonia, Western Thrace), Greece, in terms of garrisoning, was split between Germany and Italy. Bulgaria stayed within the annexed area, except for an area of Evros bordering with Turkey, which was given to the Wehrmacht<sup>17</sup>. Italy occupied Epirus, Thessaly, Roumeli, the Peloponnese, Western Macedonia, and the Prefecture of Lasithi in Crete. The Wehrmacht kept Central Macedonia, part of Evros, the islands of Evia, Lesbos, Chios, Northern Sporades, Kythera, Milos and Crete (except for the Prefecture of Lasithi).





Fig. 2. Map of the triple occupation of Greece by the Axis powers(1941-1944)

### The Battle of Crete

The Battle of Crete is considered a separate event in World War II by all historians, because of the diversity of arms used in the conflict (air force vs. naval fleet; paratroopers vs. infantry) and for the reversal suffered by Hitler's strategies and military plans.

**The main thing is, however, that for the first time in world history, a civilian population fought an invading country.**

Faced with state collapse, and a panicky government that avoided battle rather than lead into it, the people rose up, reacted, and took up arms against the invader.

Besides, the armed popular resistance in Crete is a precursor of the phenomenon that later appeared in Greece and throughout Europe, namely the **people's armed resistance**<sup>18</sup>. The uprising's importance lies in the fact that, while the state collapsed, the people didn't panic... they reacted, rose up, resisted and decided, quite voluntarily, to create a new saga, a harbinger of resistance in Greece and throughout Europe.



Fig.3. Scenes from the Battle of Crete

At the same time, the Battle of Crete brings to the fore, the legal, moral and political tragedy of people-state relations when they collide with each other. International rules, International Law, deliberately refuse to deal with this, and therefore when the people's popular armed force collides with state forces, captured fighters belonging to the former are not considered prisoners, but instead are labeled "irregulars" and summarily executed.

In the Battle of Crete, citizens who were arrested in the fighting were executed on the spot by German troops. Even unarmed civilians staying in villages offering resistance were arrested in retaliation, declared to be "aiding and abetting resistance", and executed by the Wehrmacht<sup>19</sup>.

This is the excuse given for the execution of 42 civilians in Alikianos, Chania, on June 2, 1941, and 81 from the villages of Perivolia, Loutra, Pangalochori, and Paleochora. On the same day, 18 were executed in Adele, Rethymno and 25 others in Kondomari. On June 3, in Heraklion, Crete, and in Sternes (of the same Prefecture, 19 unarmed citizens were executed.

On June 14, in Heraklion, Crete, 50 unarmed civilians were executed.

On June 20, in Perivolia, Chania, 32 unarmed civilians were executed.

But the classic case of Kandanos brings into relief this **banditry**. Here, residents of Selinos and Kissamos in a people's assembly, decided to resist the occupiers. They established a voluntary body of 250 citizens, broke into the arms depot of the local *gendarmerie*, armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find, and set out to face the invaders. After the capture of the airfield at Maleme, on May 21, 1941, a German reconnaissance party attempted to scout the road to Paleochora. They were confronted in Kouloukouthiana by another group of volunteers, led by Sergeant J. Lazopoulos, who had been wounded in 1940-41. In the confrontation, J. Lazopoulos was killed, but the Germans pulled back. The next day,

May 22, 1941, a larger German detail set out in the same direction. In Messavlia they were wiped out in an ambush set up by the Kissamos and Selino volunteers. Only one German soldier escaped. The next day, on May 23, 1941, an even stronger detail was sent. In Floria an ambush had been set up. They completely wiped out the detail and equipped themselves with modern weapons and a heavy machine gun. The next day, on May 24, 1941, an entire German battalion set out for Kandanos, and from there to Paleochora to cut off the escape route of the British to Egypt. Waiting for them at the Kandanos Gorge was the Volunteer Corps. A tough battle ensued which lasted until the next afternoon, whereupon the volunteers were forced to pull back because they ran out of ammunition. The German battalion advanced and occupied the undefended town, now empty of residents, and then continued its advance and captured Paleochora. The Germans themselves admit that they lost 45 soldiers in the battle of the Kandanos Gorge.



Fig. 4. The destruction of Kandanos. A memorial from the Battle of Crete printed on three signs. The first sign, printed on a blackboard, was placed at the exit road from Kandanos to Paleochora on June 3, 1941, and all that is left is a photograph; on the same day a second sign, a wooden door, was placed at the entrance to Kandanos on the road coming from Chania. The third sign, a marble slab, was meant to adorn the "monument," which would be built by the Germans at the end of 1943, covering the ruins of the site.

*"For the brutal murder of German paratroopers, mountain commandos and engineers collectively by men, women, children and priests, and for resisting the great Reich, Kandanos was leveled on 3.6.41, never to be rebuilt."*

In all these conflicts, regular battles took place and no captured Germans were assassinated, since the volunteers didn't find any soldiers to arrest. The German

soldiers, on the other hand, killed all unarmed civilians they came upon as they moved from the Gorge to Paleochora,

A whole week went by, and on the eighth day the Germans razed Kandanos, erecting signs at the entrance to the town, at its former center, and at the town's exit towards Paleochora. The signs contain the admission that the Germans gave battle to "**civilians (men, women, children and priests),**" and confessed that the latter "put up resistance against the Great Reich" and for this reason "**Kandanos was razed to the ground, never to be rebuilt.**"

Kandanos, of course, was rebuilt. But the signs remain, their content still broadcasting throughout the world the inviolate law of the powerful: **People are not permitted to resist state armies.**

### **The effort to inculcate Fascism**

As soon as German troops occupied Greece, three objectives designed and planned by Hitler were put into effect: the Fascist indoctrination of the people; the dismemberment of the country; and the genocide of the Greek people.

The main concern of this book is to highlight the intended extermination of the Greek people through starvation and executions. It is necessary, however, to present Hitler's entire plan, to demonstrate his overall conduct and the full spectrum of his actions, in order to better understand his intentions regarding Greece.

Hitler knew very well that ideological war is the requisite ingredient for the ultimate victory or defeat of his objectives. So he began with a form of cooperation<sup>20</sup> and proselytizing<sup>21</sup> in order to proceed with the establishment of a fifth column, the Fascist indoctrination of the Greek people. He managed to find a Prime Minister, who formed a Cabinet, and thus, despite enslavement, the state was not abolished and the state apparatus continued to function, but in the service of the conqueror. The reaction of civil servants is a different matter.

To proselytize, various Nazi organizations, movements, and parties were created by the Nazis in order to create special legions which would be sent to fight against the Soviet Union. (They didn't succeed in this, and the resistance organization ΠΕΑΝ blew up their offices and broke up their efforts.)

Likewise, through policing and repression, there was an attempt to stifle every reaction, by creating special security forces, known as the Security Battalions. The complete failure to indoctrinate the Greek People to Fascism is due to their deep consciousness and a long history of opposition to violence, invasion and slavery. And all those who capitulated to the invader received one and only one answer: Death to the cowards!

### **The dismemberment of the country**

Hitler, right away, and certainly **before the start of the resistance**<sup>22</sup>, dismembered Greece, turning over part of its territory to other countries, in a vain attempt to split national unity.

For that reason, he handed over Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace to fascist Bulgaria; the Ionian and Cycladic islands, as well as Samos, to fascist Italy; Thesprotia to the fascist regime that Mussolini had created in Albania. Finally, in

Greece's heartland, from parts of Epirus, Western Macedonia, Thessaly and Roumeli, he founded the Kingdom of Pindos.

**Dismemberment such as this and land grabbing was not enforced by Hitler in any other country, anywhere else in occupied Europe.**

Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Luxembourg were left as they were. No cutting, no amputation, no dismemberment.

From Belgium, Hitler took the areas of Eupen, Malmedy, and Saint Vitte, which he thought belonged to Germany.

From France, he took the long contentious areas of Alsace and Lorraine.

From Czechoslovakia he took the Sudetenland because the Sudetens are Germans.

From Poland, he took land which was considered German.

From Yugoslavia: a) he annexed to Germany a part of Slovenia; b) to Hungary he gave Backa; c) to Bulgaria, he gave Vardaska (the present state of Skopje); d) to Italy he turned over Montenegro, coastal Croatia, and a part of Slovenia. He neither dismembered Serbia itself nor did he grab any of its lands. During its intervention in 1996, NATO following in Hitler's footsteps, proceeded with a similar dismemberment, to break up the former Yugoslavia.

As clearly demonstrated, what Hitler did in the rest of Europe doesn't even begin to compare with what he did in Greece, which he literally dismembered<sup>23</sup>. The dismemberment of Greece, and its financial draining preceded the armed resistance against the occupiers.

The resistance, of course, of the Greek people began from the first day, from the very first moment. It was both passive and active, but it was unarmed, at first, and took a diverse form... disobedience, slogans on walls, clandestine publications, all the way to strikes and sabotage.

## 1. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMY

“This is the cruelest, the most inhumane, the most bloodthirsty, the most stifling slavery that our long-suffering country has ever experienced in its three thousand years of turbulent history.”

Dimitris Glinos

From the book *What is the NLF and What does it Want?*

### The Occupation

With the Battle of Crete, German forces completed the occupation of Greece and the Axis powers the occupation of the European continent. From Hitler's point of view, this was the most remarkable event of World War II. He wanted to emphasize it, to highlight it, and to trumpet it around the world. With plenty of swagger, he announced from the Reichstag: "the liberation of Europe is now complete."

The Greek people were confronted with a new unfamiliar situation, a new reality: the Occupation, and abject slavery, and as Dimitris Glinos puts it, *"Abject slavery and plunder and brutality and pillaging and looting and devastation of the country. This is the world order which the barbarians of Asia, the Persians, the Huns, the Mongols of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, and the Mohamedan Turks wanted to impose on this country, the only difference being that this time theft is scientifically organized and orderly. Everything that the Greek people had produced with their work in a hundred years of freedom, all our material goods disappeared. All of the food and goods that were in our storehouses [...] All animals used in farming, for food, and transportation [...] All our means of transportation [...] All farm products [...] And after they removed all means of gainful employment, in effect starving us, they accuse us of being lazy, shiftless idlers, and they'll put us to work as only they know how to put slaves to work. And scientifically organized robbery follows right on the heels of this banditry"*, and as he states descriptively, this slavery **“is the cruelest, the most inhumane, the most bloodthirsty, the most stifling of any kind of slavery our much tortured Country has ever known.”**<sup>24</sup> A slavery that resulted in an almost unimaginable tragedy, and as Dimitris J. Magriotis specifies: **“a tragedy on such a scale and intensity as that suffered by the people of Greece [...] is without parallel in World History in recent centuries”**<sup>25</sup>. He continues: **"No other people enslaved by the Third Reich suffered such damage to its material and immaterial possessions as the Greek"**. A tragedy unprecedented in its form, its kind and its character.

Truly, the Greek people suffered like no others under the “New World Order”, which was imposed on Greece by the armed forces of the Third Reich’s Wehrmacht<sup>26</sup>.

Greece suffered badly: the plunder of its production capacity and its economy;

and the terrible genocide that resulted from hunger; the executions, and the holocausts. There was a methodical sucking out of Greece's economic potential along with starvation and extermination of its population. Truly the pinnacle of barbarity<sup>27</sup>.

The Germans themselves admit it, in diplomatic language, with these words: **"Greece experienced the evils of war, as perhaps no other country in Europe"**<sup>28</sup>. In other words, it was the **"war"** and not the Wehrmacht itself that bears responsibility for the suffering of the Greek People. Shifting responsibility to an impersonal **war** is an attempt to relieve the Third Reich of the **responsibility** for the **sufferings** imposed on the Greek people by the force of arms of the German army.

The destruction of the economy of Greece, which was designed and planned, and put into effect as soon as the country was occupied by the Wehrmacht<sup>29</sup> intended to secure right away all of the country's resources for Germany and Germany alone.

Even before completing the conquest of Greek territory, as early as April 8, 1941, upon occupying Thessaloniki, they issued the first orders *"for taxes and duties in the occupied lands of Greece"*<sup>30</sup>.

The plan for submitting the economy of Greece into German hands had been developed in Berlin by an entire staff of economists who accompanied the invasion armies and occupation forces. That's why, **before the guerrilla war began**, the following measures were set into motion:

### 1.1 Confiscation - Expropriation

The first step they took was to freeze and seize all products located in government warehouses and in the ports of the country.

From these goods they eventually confiscated, in other words grabbed, the raw materials they needed in the war industry (metals, minerals, rocks) and all types of fuel and leather<sup>31</sup>.

Greek chrome represented 40% of Germany's total import of chrome.

The foreign trade of Greece passed into German hands immediately and entirely<sup>32</sup>.

It is worth noting that prior to the completion of the conquest of mainland Greece and before the Battle of Crete, private German companies had flooded the country and *"used the German occupation of Greece for plunder and expansion to a degree that even they did not expect,"* as noted by Dietrich Eichholtz. During the first ten days of May, 1941, the Krupp Group *"had taken over for Germany the entire production of Greek mining of pyrite, iron ore, chrome and nickel, magnesium and gold"*<sup>33</sup>.

### 1.2 Seizure of 51% of stock shares

The group of economists that followed the German army into Greece put into effect the plan to enslave the country's economy, taking control with their own hands: they forced the turnover of 51% of the shares of state-owned enterprises (ΔΕΚΟ),

banks, and all large private enterprises, commercial and industrial<sup>34</sup>.

So that's how the entire economy of Greece now belonged to the German occupiers, who led and directed the economy. All productive, commercial and financial institutions in the country belonged to the new majority shareholder – the Germans! Consequently, the entire production of wealth now belonged to them<sup>35</sup>.

The raid on the national economy, whether in the form of seizure of 51% of the stock shares, or by requisition<sup>36</sup>, was intended to remove all goods from the Greek people to let them go hungry, and to die of starvation and starvation-related illnesses.

### 1.3 Feeding of the occupation forces

In accordance with international conventions regarding the "law of war", when one state defeats another, the people of the defeated country are obliged to feed the occupation army.

At the Second Hague Peace Conference in 1907, a paragraph was added, which states:

*"The occupation authorities of any country shall be permitted to effect in that country all kinds of withdrawals in cash, kind, or services for the needs of the occupying forces, provided that they are proportional to the resources of the occupied country"*<sup>37</sup>.

The German army<sup>38</sup> that occupied Greece numbered 500,000 soldiers; the Italian army that followed, 250,000; and the Bulgarian army that accompanied Von Liszt's field army, 60,000. A total of 810,000 soldiers. Was it ever possible for the Greek people to feed such an immense array of forces?

If that weren't enough, Greece, unlike any other country in Europe, had to also feed the German Expeditionary Corps in Africa (Rommel's Africa Corps).

And it was just for that reason that the Greek economy was brought to its knees. Food became scarce in the beginning, and later disappeared.

### 1.4 Counterfeit currency

All German soldiers were provided with plenty of paper currency, usually 50 Marks (Fünzig Reichsmark). With these bills, they'd pay for their coffee at coffee shops, buy cigarettes from kiosks, and pay for their food in restaurants. Furthermore, they'd purchase from shops whatever they fancied. So did troop quartermasters from wholesale food outlets<sup>39</sup>.

When the shopkeepers went to the bank to exchange their German banknotes they were unfamiliar with because of the gothic letters, they realized that they were worthless. The bills were counterfeit, as the State Credit Bank (Reichskreditkasse) that supposedly issued them didn't exist. Nor was there any signature of the Director of the issuing Bank that would have printed them, or the signature of the Finance Minister. There was only the serial number of the particular banknote printed in red. In this way, shopkeepers throughout Greece were robbed.

But there was also another peculiar kind of robbery. A pack of cigarettes cost



about 6 drachmas. They'd give the kiosk owner a counterfeit 50-Mark banknote and demand change in Greek drachmas. And because they had been told that the Mark was at parity with the drachma, they expected 44 Greek drachmas in change<sup>40</sup>.

There was, of course, an even bigger robbery, one which boggles the mind. Because in addition to the German counterfeit bills, the occupation authorities were circulating the Italian Mediterranean drachma (Cassa Mediterranea di Credito), as well as the lira, the Bulgarian leva and the Albanian franc, the quisling government told the occupiers that it was not easy for markets and the country's economy to function with so many currencies in circulation. So they asked if it were at all possible, to withdraw the counterfeit currencies and let only the Greek drachma remain in circulation. The occupation authorities accepted this, provided naturally, that the government buys up the counterfeit bills in circulation!

So in August, 1941, the other currencies were withdrawn from circulation and 530,824 English gold pounds were paid to the German occupiers in exchange for the counterfeit German banknotes; and 574,081 English gold pounds were paid to the Italian occupiers for the Italian Mediterranean drachmas<sup>41</sup>.

### **1.5 Currency theft**

There is a rumor that German troops seized the gold they found in the Bank of Greece. The Germans didn't find any gold. The king's government had taken it all, and smuggled it to the Middle East, and from there to South Africa<sup>42</sup>.

But they found 10- and 20-drachma silver coins, and the other coins of 5-, 2- and 1-drachma coins, along with the 50-, 20- and 10-cent coins.

The former weighed 37.77 tons and contained 50% silver, 40% copper, 5% zinc and 5% nickel. Out of these they got 18.88 tons of silver, 15.10 tons of copper, and

1.51 tons each of zinc and nickel.

From the "loose change" coins, they seized 56 tons of copper and 8.5 tons of nickel.

In total, they took 18.88 tons of silver, 71.10 tons of copper, 10 tons of nickel and 1.51 tons of zinc.

For the silver, they paid only 104 gold pounds, instead of the 20,000 pounds it was worth; and for the copper, only 5.5 gold pounds instead of 5,500, its real worth. In other words, they paid a total of 109.5 gold pounds instead of 25,500.

### **1.6 The Compulsory Loan**

Since 1824, and to this day, the overlords of our country and its servile governments ensure that Greece would borrow and always be in debt.

In 191 years of loans and debts, just once, during the period of Occupation, was history turned on its head, and Greece, instead of borrowing, suddenly became a ...lender!

The German occupiers brought about this miracle. Not because they were able to achieve economic growth. Quite the contrary. In the worst period of economic depression, at a time when death loomed large, tiny Greece was forced to lend money to great Germany! Never before was the grim dictum "Your death is my life" applied so literally.

The Compulsory Loan Agreement was concluded in Rome on March 14, 1942, at the Germany - Italy Financial Conference<sup>43</sup>.

The Italian Finance representative in Greece D'Agostini proposed that any cash withdrawals beyond the normal range of Greece's economy, and on top of the occupation costs, be charged as a Greek loan to Germany and Italy. His proposal was adopted.

In essence, the Compulsory Loan was "**legalized**" robbery committed against the Greek People.

The plenipotentiaries of Germany and Italy to Greece, Günther Altenburg and Gizi, signed an agreement according to which the amounts they would receive from Greece, in excess of the 1.5 billion drachmas taken each month for occupation expenses, would be considered a loan to the occupation forces.

The agreement was announced to Greece by *note verbale* (No. 160) because Greece had not been invited, and was not represented in Rome on March 23, 1942. And it was made retroactive to January 1, 1942.

The Treaty of Rome was periodically readjusted because of inflation.

The first readjustment took effect on December 22, 1942, and specified the flexible cost of life indexing of occupation expenses, now defined at 8 billion drachmas per month. It was amounts in excess of this higher value that would be charged to the loan.

The second readjustment was made on May 18, 1943.

The third readjustment took place on October 25, 1943, because Italy had changed sides in the war.

Overall, the occupation loan amounted to 45 million gold pounds, i.e., 4.05 billion dollars (U.S.). Of this, \$3.5 billion was the share of Germany.<sup>44</sup>

– *"The legal nature of this demand and the possibility that it would be executed against the Federal Republic of Germany, was examined by a committee of lawyers, set up in 1964 specifically for this purpose. The committee concluded that it was a loan agreement between the German government and the government of occupied Greece.[...] Article 4 of the Treaty of Rome specified that the 'final arrangement of these debts would take place later'".* (Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Document of October 23, 1990).

## 1.7 The tithe

The occupation troops pounced upon the agricultural production of the country and literally squeezed it dry<sup>45</sup>.

One of the occupiers' first acts was to revive the Ottoman tithe, and enforce the retention of 10% of agricultural production for the benefit of the occupation forces.

Despite the attempt of resistance organizations to depict production as lower

than what it in fact was, so that the 10% wouldn't be assessed off production lower than the actual one, the tithe was a painful measure for the farmers, for the agricultural economy and for the country's economy in general.

The blow was a serious one, because we should not overlook the fact that at that time Greece was a predominantly rural country with exports of tobacco and raisins.

Note also that wheat production in 1939 was at its highest point, with 1,000,000 tons produced.

## 1.8 Requisitions

The Nazi occupiers from the very first day made requisitions of schools, houses, shops, hospitals, hotels and buildings, as well as all means of transportation (cars, motorcycles, bicycles, carts, horses, mules, donkeys, buffalo, ships, speedboats, sailboats and rowboats)<sup>46</sup>.

This despite the fact that international law, as formulated at international conferences in Brussels in 1874, Oxford in 1880, and The Hague in 1899 and 1907, banned "*requisitions that do not address direct and unavoidable needs of military occupation, and are not commensurate with the resources of the country.*"

The pretext for these unlimited requisitions was that they were necessary for the occupation forces. But who was there to judge? The Wehrmacht that made the requisitions?

## 1.9 Appropriations and thefts

International law applies well accepted rules to the spoils of war, including arms, ammunition, arms factories, and all products deemed useful for the war industry.

But in Greece, the enemy wasn't content with the spoils of war. Aiming at genocide by "legal" means, they swooped down and leeches the country's economy<sup>47</sup>.

In addition, there was a shameless form of robbery that took two forms:

a) Uncoordinated looting.

Whether by private initiative, in secret or with the connivance of their superiors, soldiers, acting either individually or in organized gangs, looted the population, especially in the villages.

It is thought that only the Italians and the Bulgarians were susceptible to these types of plunder and robbery. But the Wehrmacht soldiers were no exception, not even the officers. Merten's gold nest was made after stripping 54,000 Greek citizens of Thessaloniki of Jewish descent of their gold and silver; these were then sent to concentration camps with a few exceptions, never to return.

b) In an organized way, by the commanding officers of Wehrmacht units, themselves. Dietrich Eichholtz wrote openly: "*Those in charge of the German economy used the occupation of Greece to pillage and plunder to an extent they barely expected themselves.*"

### 1.10 Looting of archaeological treasures and works of art

The word *ληλατώ* (to loot) means rob and grab, while *ληλασία* is the act of looting and grabbing. Together with the word *λεία* (loot) they share a common root with the words *λάω* (=want) and *λαύω* (=appropriate the loot), and they mean, express, denote the removal, the grabbing, the forcible or malicious seizure of another person's property.

As *ληιβοτήρες σύες* (predator sows), the Nazi occupiers fell on the property of the Greek People and carried it off. It is with the same fury that they raided its history and stole archaeological treasures created by the ancient Greek civilization.



Fig.5. German officers and diplomats every so often stole many ancient treasures from the museums of the country.

The looting started from the very first days. German officers offered Field Marshal Wilhelm von Liszt, commander of Wehrmacht's 12th Army, a 4th century bust, which they grabbed from the Archaeological Museum. Wilhelm von Liszt took the head with him when he returned to Germany.

The theft of archaeological treasures took the following forms:

- a) "gifts".
- b) theft from museums.
- c) archaeological finds discovered while opening of roads.
- d) archaeological finds discovered while preparing fortifications.
- e) illegal archaeological excavations that took place without a Greek archaeologist present and unbeknownst to the Directorate of Antiquities and Historical Monuments<sup>48</sup>.

## 2. ALL OF GREECE – A HOLOCAUST

"Greece endured the pain of war and suffered its consequences perhaps like no other European country."

Funk,  
Minister of Financial Affairs of the Third Reich

Hitler's third objective was the extermination of the Greek people, genocide through starvation, executions and holocausts.

Greece didn't provoke the war against either Italy or Germany. On the contrary, these two Axis powers prepared, orchestrated, initiated and conducted a vicious war against Greece. As a consequence, they committed crimes against peace, crimes against humanity. Also, these two countries flagrantly violated war ethics, customs and laws by executing prisoners of war, bombing civilians, and torpedoing ships of the merchant marine. All these violations constitute crimes against humanity and against peace, and are therefore war crimes, violations of The Hague Conference of 1907.

The deaths from this unprovoked war of aggression, the deaths from starvation, the deaths from execution, the deaths from atrocities, and the deaths from imprisonment in Nazi concentration camps testify to this. The list of martyred dead is endless. All of Greece became a holocaust and there is documented and verified evidence to prove it.

### 2.1 Deaths from the war of aggression against Greece

International law classifies as international crimes the crimes against peace, the war crimes, and the crimes against humanity.

Greece was a victim that suffered the consequences of all three of these crimes<sup>49</sup>.

The war that, without any provocation, was declared against Greece by the Axis powers, first Italy and then Germany, was a war of aggression.

The several provocations of fascist Italy went unanswered.

- On July 19, 1940, three Italian bombers launched an attack on the destroyer Hydra and the ship Orion during a mission to resupply the lighthouse of Gramvousa on the island of Crete.
- On July 30, 1940, the Italians attacked by air a) two destroyers in the Gulf of Corinth and b) two submarines in the port of Nafpaktos.
- On August 2, 1940, a bombing raid was carried out by an Italian airplane

against a ship of the Financial Police, one mile from the Lalousa lighthouse in the Saronic Gulf.

- On August 15, 1940, the Italians torpedoed the destroyer Elli at the port of Tinos, as well as the harbor's quay, where pilgrims were gathered, and they murdered both sailors and pilgrims.
- In the evening of the same day, Italian bombers struck twice the steamer Fridon at Mali in Crete.



Fig. 6 A scene from the Italian invasion of Greece

Greece did not respond to these unacceptable provocations. Yet the fascist Italian regime declared war on October 28, 1940.

While Greece did not bother Hitler's Germany in the slightest, since it did not occupy any German colonies, nor did it deprive Germany of vital economic space, nor did it ever have a border dispute with it (since they have no common border), the Germans started from the far end of Europe to launch an attack against it on April 6, 1941.

The attacks, by both Italy and Germany, constitute a crime against humanity, a crime against peace, and a war crime.

Therefore, for the losses suffered by Greece, in deaths and to its economy, the responsible parties are those who committed this war of aggression against it, a crime against peace, against humanity, a war crime. They are guilty and they must atone, they must repair the damage they caused to **"body and soul"** as the saying goes.

The deaths of soldiers from the war of 1940-41 number 13,327.

The deaths of civilians caused by bombing raids number 7,120.

The deaths of deck crews aboard torpedoed merchant marine ships number 3,500.

Total: 23,947.

To these victims, we must add the deaths of Greek soldiers fighting in the Middle East, North Africa and Italy, which number 1,100.

Also we must include the deaths of resistance fighters in battles against the occupiers, which come to 20,650.

All told, there are 45,697 deaths caused by military action, in the war the Axis powers waged against Greece.

To these, one must add the deaths from starvation, executions and atrocities that will be examined in the following chapters.

## 2.2 Deaths from starvation

The planned destruction of the country's economy, with the ultimate goal to wipe out the Greek people, was put into action from the first day of the occupation, and certainly **before the onset of the resistance** movement started bearing fruit<sup>50</sup>.

The lack of food, malnutrition and diseases resulted directly in deaths, first and foremost in the urban population, the mountain villages, as well as in some islands with large population and no hinterland, like Aegina and Syra.

The deaths from starvation and disease caused by malnutrition reach 600,000.

This estimate is based on the testimony of many authors<sup>51</sup> that the winter famine of 1941-42 alone resulted in 300,000 deaths.

How, then, could there not be another 300,000 deaths, if not more, from starvation in the remaining two years of the war, mainly as a result of diseases caused by famine?

For those who would dispute this data, there is at least one unshakeable fact. In 1940, before the start of the war, the population of Greece was 7,344,860, but when the country was liberated, it had dropped to 6,805,000, according to the National Bureau of Statistics, a difference of 539,860. Although the birth rates were low, undoubtedly there were births, which are recorded. However, the population of Greece declined substantially.

Others argue that there is no evidence showing that there was a plot by Hitler to exterminate the Greek people through starvation. Yet the tragic reality reveals the truth: the facts themselves in particular when compared to the experience of other European people. **The dramatic fact about Greece is that its population was smaller after the war than it had been when the war began. This is the incontrovertible and tragic truth.**

## 2.3 Deaths from executions and holocausts

The executions and holocausts in Greece knew no bounds, and cannot be justified by anything concocted by the conquerors' several apologists.

The first person to be executed was Dimitrios Itsios, a sergeant in the Greek army from Upper Poroia (Serres). Dimitrios Itsios defended his M18 machine gun nest, together with his comrades, and was taken prisoner when their ammunition was

exhausted. The German officer after... congratulating him (!), ordered his execution on April 6, 1941. Although a prisoner of war, he was executed on the spot, in violation of all international rules, because he defended his country. **The Wehrmacht's first crime: execution of a prisoner of war**<sup>52</sup>.

In this, Nazi Germany showed its true face and revealed its intentions. Whoever defends his country will be immediately executed. The Third Reich doesn't respect international treaties. Everyone will have to submit to Nazism.

The second person to be executed was Matthew Potagas, a 17-year old student from Vitina (Arcadia). On May 2, 1941, Potagas ran out into the street outside of Vitina, just as a convoy of German tanks was passing. He raised his hand and shouted: *"Stop. You're not going to enslave us. I'm here alone. But all of Greece is behind me"*<sup>53</sup>. The German commander, who had stopped the convoy, asked his interpreter what this boy had said. When the interpreter translated the remarks, the commander killed Potagas on the spot with his automatic pistol. As if the boy's death wasn't enough, the commander then ordered his soldiers to crush the lad's head with a rock. How dare this lad stand up to the mighty Wehrmacht of the Third Reich!

The fury and hatred of the occupiers against the Greek people, displayed from the first day of the invasion to the last day of the occupation, became a fixture and increased daily with the continuous killings and hecatombs of mass atrocities against a people that were neither imperialist, nor did they exploit other peoples, or occupy their land.

Hardly a day went by without executions. The total number of deaths by execution throughout Greece is thought to exceed 56,225, the recognized acts of mass atrocity 89, and the deaths from imprisonment in German concentration camps 105,000.

The sacrifices of the Greek people remain, unfortunately, largely unacknowledged. They have not been recorded accurately or completely. Nor have all issues and aspects of this Greek tragedy come to light. One thing is certain: there is no Greek family that does not have at least one person dying at the altar of World War II and the Occupation.

## 2.4 Deaths from imprisonment in Nazi concentration camps

From the first days of the Occupation, the German invaders and occupiers started taking hostages.

First they picked up all political prisoners -- the vast majority of whom were communists -- turned over by the August 4th dictatorship. With few exceptions, where top officers of the gendarmerie refused to participate in this crime, such as Warrant Officer Kazazis, commander of the Sikinos police station that let political exiles<sup>54</sup> go free, and others where the prisoners escaped, e.g. from Kimolos<sup>55</sup>, from Gavdos<sup>56</sup>, from Asvestochori<sup>57</sup> from Folegandros<sup>58</sup>, from the sanatorium of Petra in Pieria<sup>59</sup>, all others were turned over to the invaders, and were used as hostages.

Specifically, all political prisoners (communists, socialists, democrats, anti-Fascists) held in Akronafplia (602), Anafi (290), Ai-Stratis (150), Aegina (150) and



Pylos, were turned over to the occupiers.

Of the 1,870 political prisoners who, on April 27, 1941, were found in a state of exile or a prison of the August 4th regime, 670 managed to escape. Of the 1,200 turned over to the occupiers, 677 were executed during the occupation, while 64 others died of starvation and diseases. Also, 62 were freed from Ai-Stratis in an operation of the National Liberation Navy (EΛAN) on July 17, 1943. Ultimately of 1,200 political prisoners, only 459 survived.

These were the first hostages taken, and during the entire period of Occupation, were used as a pool from which the German occupiers chose people to execute.

A second category of hostages is made up of those arrested at the notorious road blocks, which were set up at will.

These road blocks started from the earliest days of the Occupation in Crete, and their use was then expanded to the rest of Greece.

In theory, the failure to respect the individual liberties of persons taken hostage is a crime **against civilization and human rights**<sup>60</sup>. This crime was committed on a regular basis by the German occupiers.

Hostages taken at the road blocks were either executed on the spot or sent to concentration camps in Greece, or to concentration camps which the Germans had constructed in Germany, Austria and Poland.

On the spot executions of hostages taken by the German occupiers took place as soon as Crete fell. They blockaded the villages of Kandanos, Alikianos, Perivolia, Loutra, Pagalochori and Paleochora (in Chania), Adele in Rethymno and Kondomari, and on June 2, 1941, according to the evidence in hand, executed 466 hostages. On June 3, 1941, they executed 12 hostages in Heraklion, Crete. On June 5, 1941, they executed 19 hostages in Sternes (Heraklion). On June 14, 1941, they executed 50 hostages in Heraklion. On June 20, 1941, they executed 32 hostages in Pervolia (Chania)<sup>61</sup>.

The executions of hostages continued throughout the occupation, culminating in 89 internationally recognized acts of atrocity in cities and villages across Greece.

Hostages not executed on the spot were locked up in one of the 26 camps set up in Greece, to be executed at a later date<sup>62</sup>.

The number of prisoners taken from Greece and incarcerated in concentration camps in Germany, Austria and Poland totaled 120,000, of whom 105,000 were executed, or burnt in crematoria, or died either of starvation and disease, or torture.

From 1943 on, the Germans started sending their prisoners to camps in Germany, Austria and Poland, in particular the Greek nationals of Jewish origin, whom they rounded up from all over Greece. Of the 69,000 that were arrested,<sup>63</sup> only 2,000 returned.

The architects of the construction and operation of the concentration camps and the Jewish holocaust were: Hermann Göring, second only to Hitler in the Nazi hierarchy; Martin Bormann, Hitler's right hand; Heinrich Himmler, chief of the SS; Walter Schimana, of the SS; Adolf Eichmann, the architect of the Holocaust; and especially for Greece: Dieter Wisliceny, Rolf Gunther, Alois Brunner, and Max Merten.

## 2.5 Population loss due to drop in birth rate

Malnutrition and its accompanying diseases, as well as deaths of women from starvation, led to a reduction in the number of births<sup>64</sup>.

There were births, of course, but the birth rate was significantly reduced. In 30 Prefectural capital cities, with a resident population of 1,957,350 in 1940, the birth rate was 19.24%; but in 1941, 13.12%; in 1942, 11.80%; and in 1943, 13.12%.

A breakdown of births in Athens and Piraeus during the critical years of the Occupation has as follows:

	1940	1941	1942	1943
Athens	12.359	9.799	6.860	11.470
Piraeus	6.077	3.825	3.403	5.637

The data reveal that the great famine of 1941-42 reduced births almost by half in 1942, and also that, notwithstanding the soup kitchens and the food supply missions of the International Red Cross, the breaking into food storehouses, and the successful harvest, births in 1943 lagged behind births in 1940.

It is estimated that in the 3.5 years long Occupation, , births were reduced by 300,000.

## 2.6 Greek sacrifices in blood

The sacrifice of the Greek People in blood, as described in the previous chapter, has the following dimensions: size, explanation, and aims.

### *Size*

Deaths from the wars of aggression against Greece, deaths from starvation, deaths from executions and atrocities, deaths from imprisonment in concentration camps, and population loss due to lower birth rates, raise the losses to a total of 1,106,922 people, i.e., to 13.5 % of the population of Greece at that time<sup>65</sup>. This number brings us to first place in WWII sacrifices throughout the world. To repeat, Greece lost 13.5% of its population in World War II.

### *Explanation*

The basic explanation which the Germans offered at the time, and which certain supporters of Nazi ideology still offer today, is that Greek losses are the result of German reprisals, triggered by the Greek guerrilla resistance.

Deaths, however, caused by the wars of aggression of the Axis powers, Germany - Italy – Bulgaria, against Greece, are largely unrelated to the resistance. This is true of the deaths from starvation, which resulted from the pre-planned genocide of the Greek People. Plans to exterminate the Greek People preceded all guerrilla resistance. But after the onset of the Greek resistance movement, the occupiers, rather than fight the guerillas, turned in every case against the civilian population to exterminate it. The 89 internationally recognized acts of atrocity testify to this, as do the executions of hostages<sup>66</sup>.

#### *Aims*

Some have argued that these German crimes are merely **collateral war damage**. They refuse to admit the bitter truth and in this manner absolve Hitler, the main culprit, from wrongdoing in the demise of the Greek People by starvation, executions, imprisonment, and atrocities.

The bitter truth is that there was a plot to exterminate the Greek people by starvation and force of arms. There was a plan to wipe out an entire people who resisted the Axis powers and dispelled the myth of their invincibility, overturning their plans, and contributing to their military defeat.

### 3. GERMANY'S UNSETTLED WAR REPARATIONS

"Anyone who fails to remember what inhumanity is,  
is once again vulnerable to new risks of infection."

Richard von Weizsacker,  
President of West Germany,  
...on the 40th anniversary of the  
end of the Second World War

A comprehensive report on the destruction of the country's economy, and to the annihilation of its people by means of starvation, executions and atrocities, offers the reader a stark picture – as much as words could possibly convey – of the unspeakable tragedy which befell the Greek People.

According to International Law, **“the invading occupying country that inflicts damages must make restitution.”**

Because Germany, in its vicious war against Greece, and the inhumane crimes it committed against the Greek people as an occupying power, crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity (which we cannot even begin to describe), it is held accountable and must pay reparations. Not for the sake of revenge, but for the following very compelling reasons:

1. Even if the debt amounted to just one Deutschemark, it should be paid as a guarantee that similar crimes against humanity will never be repeated in the future. If someone refuses to pay for the harm he has caused, it means that he doesn't acknowledge the harm, and thereby potentially, he could repeat similar abominations in the future.

2. Rendering justice cannot be a one-sided affair. All countries of Europe which were occupied by the Axis powers in one way or another, legally or otherwise, directly or indirectly, received the sums awarded to them by the Allied Commission of Paris. **The only country which did not collect from Germany is Greece.**

3. Italy and Bulgaria, which were occupying countries following Germany's conquest of Greece, paid their debts to Greece. The amounts that were awarded by the Allied Paris Commission have been paid. Their debts have been settled. But both Italy and Bulgaria would not have been occupying powers, if Germany had not previously conquered Greece. Why should Germany exempt itself from its obligations to Greece, while its partners settled theirs in full? It is completely inconceivable that today's Germany refuses to honor its obligations; for how can the future of Europe and the world be based on rules other than those prescribed by ethics and law, which, however, Germany refuses to respect<sup>67</sup>?

4. The fact that Germany is not currently under Nazi regime, and enjoys the

freedom to choose the democratic government and constitution it wishes, is in part due to the Greek people, who contributed to the defeat of Nazism at an extraordinary cost. Since we want to believe that the German people are not nostalgic of the Nazi regime, isn't it reasonable to ask how Germany intends to demonstrate that it hasn't forgotten Greece's contribution? By refusing to pay its debts?

5. Has Germany forgotten that with the Compulsory Loan it imposed on Greece, everything that could be eaten was taken from it to feed the German people? The German people survived the war in part because the Greek people died of starvation, given the things they had to go without. The people of Germany survived thanks to the death of the people of Greece.

6. Germany, first and foremost, not only out of respect for the law, but for the sake of the eternal canons of ethics that mankind has laid down, should on its own, without any hesitation, settle all its outstanding obligations to Greece, even if they amounted to just one Deutschemark, as a precondition for the establishment of friendship between the peoples of Germany and Greece, and as the necessary ingredient for the consolidation of peace.

All told, the debt of Germany to Greece can be partitioned into debt towards the State and debt to victimized persons.

The debts to the State fall into three categories:

### **3.1 Archaeological treasures and works of art**

The return of stolen archaeological treasures and works of art<sup>68</sup> (as highlighted in chapter 1.10) is a necessary precondition for establishing friendship between the two nations.

### **3.2 The restitutions, amounting to 7.1 billion dollars**

The Allied Commission, which met in Paris in January, 1946, and was made up of the 19 allied countries that fought Nazism in Europe, awarded Greece \$7.1 billion<sup>69</sup> (U.S. 1938 market value), payable by Germany for the destruction of Greece's economy, as outlined previously in chapters 1.1 to 1.9. The amount corresponds today to 108 billion Euros, excluding interest.

It is worth noting that Greece's initial demands, based on concrete evidence, amounted to \$14.5 billion (U.S.)<sup>70</sup>. Under pressure, however, Greece reduced its claim to \$10 billion. But this claim was rebuffed as well, and Greece was awarded \$7.1 billion.

### **3.3 The Compulsory Loan, amounting to 3.5 billion dollars**

The Compulsory Loan contracted with Greece, which amounts to \$3.5 billion (U.S. 1938 market value) must also be repaid<sup>71</sup>.

Actually it is what remains of the balance that is overdue, because toward the end of the occupation, Germany paid certain installments.

It is this balance that amounts to \$3.5 billion, i.e., 54 billion Euros in today's currency, excluding interest.

### 3.4 Compensation of persons victimized

Persons whose private property suffered damage (from confiscations, requisitions, seizures, arson and demolitions), or who were killed, must be compensated, because these persons suffered the consequences of crimes punishable by international law. They belong to the category of crimes against humanity, there is no statute of limitations for them, and their victims must be compensated.

In practice all cases of expropriation, requisition, and confiscation have been set aside because the victims didn't seek compensation after the end of the war.

But relatives of the victims executed either by firing squad or in mopping up operations, either in road blocks or as hostages, or in mass killings, have asked for compensation<sup>72</sup> – and rightly so – as evidence of the perpetrators' regret, and more importantly, as a guarantee that such crimes will not recur, especially since the victims lost their lives pursuant to the theory of collective responsibility, a despicable theory coined by the Nazis.

The reunification of Germany in 1990 presented the victims with the opportunity to seek redress. Because the requisite concern of the Greek governments was wanting, and because of the non-responsiveness on the part of Germany, the relatives of the victims filed lawsuits in the Greek courts. Thousands of lawsuits were filed throughout the country.

The Court of First Instance of Livadia vindicated the victims of the Distomo massacre, whose relatives had brought this class action suit, thanks to the initiative of the late John Stamoulis, then Prefect of Boeotia.

The German government then filed an appeal with the Athens Court of Appeals to have the decision of the Court of First Instance of Livadia reversed. The Athens Court of Appeals<sup>73</sup> rejected the suit brought by the German government, which then filed a further appeal to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, in a plenary session (ruling No. 11/2000), also rejected the appeal and upheld the decisions of the Court of Livadia and the Court of Appeals by 13 votes in favor, to 4 against; the latter included the President of the Supreme Court, Stephen Matthias<sup>74</sup>.

Then, to the astonishment of everybody, the dissenting President of the Supreme Court Stephen Matthias stage managed the overthrow of the decision of the Plenum of the Supreme Court as follows: Being President of the First Chamber of the Supreme Court in a civil action that had sought damages, instead of respecting the decision of the Plenum and dismissing the appeal, as proposed by Supreme Court Justice D. Linos, he managed to get a decision to refer the case to the Supreme Special Court on the grounds of a dispute on the issue of extraterritoriality<sup>75</sup>.

The Supreme Special Court, whose roster was well known to Stephen Matthias, reached a verdict in favor of the German government by a vote of 6 to 5, on the grounds that *"a State may not be sued in a court of another state in cases seeking compensation, for any kind of wrongdoing that took place in the territory of the forum* (Translator's note: the state housing the court hearing the case) *and involving in any way whatsoever armed forces of the respondent State"* (decision 102/2002).

This methodical attempt<sup>76</sup> to deprive the victims of Nazi atrocities at Distomo of justice was engineered by the then government of K. Simitis. To complete the collusion, the government went out of its way to extend by two years the tenure, which had expired, of Stephen Matthias as President of the Supreme Court.

Everyone in Greece, of course, argues for the separation of powers. The Constitution (Article 26 § 3) expressly states that "*the judicial function is exercised by the courts*", but in practice the judiciary is subject to the executive branch of government, and is ruled by it. The mere existence of the Ministry of Justice determines by definition who exercises judicial power.

Faced with this procedure, where the executive branch of government dictated court decisions to the judiciary, and after the refusal of the Minister of Justice to allow the confiscation of German property in Greece, the relatives of the victims of Distomo, encouraged by the late lawyer Yannis Stamoulis, appealed to the Italian Justice<sup>77</sup>.

The Italian Justice vindicated the victims of Distomo, along with similar Italian victims of Nazi atrocities. The German government then appealed to the Hague Tribunal to overturn decisions of all Italian courts both lower and higher.

Faced with the humiliation of having the rights of Greek citizens defended through the legal system of a state other than Greece, and because the National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany, as well as relatives of the victims, exercised a lot of pressure, the Greek government was forced to attend at The Hague. At the hearing on September 12-16, 2011) the attendance of the Greek government was allowed and Greek legal experts testified<sup>78</sup>, but neither the Greek Prime Minister attended nor the Greek Ministers of Justice and Foreign Affairs. The Court's ruling was reached on February 3, 2012, and was in favor of the German government, claiming that Italy failed to fulfill its obligations towards Germany because Italian courts refused to recognize Germany's extraterritoriality.

The fact that the International Court of Justice in The Hague did not address the substance of the slaughter at Distomo, and moreover ruled that the problem should be solved through inter-state negotiations, **opens for the Greek state, the option to demand the compensation of the victims.**

Consequently it remains for the Greek governments to do their duty in the name of justice and for the victims and the history of this land<sup>79</sup>.

### 3.5 Unsettled reparations dating to World War I

At the end of the First World War, in 1919, the Allied Commission met and signed the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919. The Treaty contained a clause, obliging Germany to indemnify the Allied civilian population for damages caused by the German army during the war.

In 1921, the Reparations Commission fixed the total amount of reparations to be paid by Germany at 132 billion Deutschmarks (\$31.5 billion U.S.).

That same year, Germany paid the first installment amounting to 1,000,000,000 Marks. Greece should have received 0.40% of the total amount, *i.e.*, 528 million German gold Marks<sup>80</sup>. Instead, it received only 37,300,800 gold Marks.

In 1929 the Jung plan was drawn up to help Germany repay its debts on

favorable terms. According to the Jung plan, Greece would receive 102,000,000 German Marks divided in equal annual installments. But this did not happen either. At the Lausanne Conference in 1932, Germany announced that it could not pay reparations. And then Hitler came and denounced the Versailles Treaty, stating unequivocally that Germany will not pay anything.

The debt remains, however, and it amounts to 80 million Marks.

There is a further debt of Germany to Greece, created in the period between the two World Wars, and is due to the difference in exports and imports between the two countries. The exports of Greece to Germany were greater than the exports of Germany to Greece.

These were not paid in full and the money owed amounts to \$593,873,000 (U.S.).



#### 4. THE REPEATED DEFERMENTS OF WAR REPARATION PAYMENTS

“Every time Germany loses a war [...] it promises that it won’t do it again, but reconsiders. Each time, it comes back in a different way and with different means to conquer. [...] It returns to Greece through financial infiltration. The Germans will bleed it dry until it is pulled apart, as in the case of Cameroon. [...] Greece is entitled to reparations for damages it suffered during World War II. *But they haven't paid anything, and they (the Germans) don't intend to;* on the contrary, they have come to take advantage of Greece again. Financial impoverishment is the worse kind of occupation. And soon we will suffer this worst kind of occupation because of the actions of the same war criminals.

In a speech of Komninos Pyromaglou, Deputy Director of ΕΔΕΣ during the Occupation, to Parliament during the debate regarding Law 4016/1959, which granted a pardon to Merten.

The German debts were considered for the first time at the conference in Potsdam, Germany (July 17-August 2, 1945) as one of the issues that the victorious Allies would have to deal with after the end of World War II.

After many discussions, disagreements and diametrically opposed views, it was agreed that each of the Great Powers (USA - England - France - USSR) would take from its own Zone of Occupation whatever reparations in kind it deemed appropriate against losses it suffered, a decision that was carried out among the four allied powers. It was decided that all other countries would take a percentage of the total reparations to be determined at a later time. **The four Great Powers immediately took the law into their own hands to resolve the issue of reparations that concerned them.** As for other countries, it was consigned to the Greek calends, and postponed time and again, until the Paris Conference of 1946.

##### 4.1 The Paris Conference of 1946

On January 14, 1946, the Allied Commission, composed of the 19 countries that fought the Axis powers, convened in Paris. The Commission determined the amount of reparations that the Axis powers would have to pay to the countries they had occupied Greece, in material terms, sought compensation of \$15,753,574,000 (U.S., 1938 market value), of which \$1,413,644,299 would come from Italy, and \$14,339,929,701 from Germany. From Bulgaria, Greece requested \$985,469,993 (1938 value).



Woman sitting on box with Swastika and labeled 'Occupation Loan': "Say, man, aren't you ashamed about how much you owe?"

Man sitting on box with words 'Greece' and 'Usurious loans': "Just as much as you, Madame... except we're not welschers!"



Hitler sitting at desk marked 'German Reich': "Herr Tsolakoglou...I'm calling you again about that onerous Occupation Loan..."

Ron the telephone: "Don't drive me crazy, Adolph! We'll lower the interest rate only if you sell off your national assets!"

Fig.7. Cartoons

Ultimately, the Allied Commission set Germany's debt to Greece at \$7.1 billion (U.S., 1938 market value).

Italy's debt to Greece was set at \$405,000,000, when the two countries signed a peace treaty in 1947.

#### **4.2 The Bonn Treaty of 1952**

On May 26, 1952, a Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States, England and France was signed in Bonn, in which a particular article specified that payment of reparations was deferred until a peace treaty was signed.

#### **4.3 The London Debts Agreement of 1953**

On February 27, 1953, an agreement was signed between defeated Germany and the victorious Allied powers. Article 5 of that agreement provided that the final settlement of war reparations would be postponed until a formal peace treaty was signed. Such a treaty between Germany and Greece has not been signed yet, because Germany refuses to do so. Regarding this matter, Angelos Angelopoulos remarks:

*"There is now the issue of a separate treaty with Germany. This is foreseen not only by the London Agreement, but also by Law 2023, passed by the Greek Parliament on March 10, 1952. According to it, 'the state of war between Greece and Germany will terminate on June 3, 1953, subject, however, to the settlement of existing differences that arose during the war'. In case of a dispute regarding this fundamental Greek demand, Greece must have recourse to the International Court of Arbitration, as provided for in the London Agreement of 1953 (Article 29), or to the International Court of Justice in the Hague" (From the Occupation to the Civil War, editions Παρουσία, Athens 1994, page 33; in Greek).*

#### **4.4 The entry of Germany into NATO in 1955**

NATO was a creation of The Cold War, and its founders relied on the Federal Republic of Germany to play the role of a major power against the USSR. Therefore, they methodically prepared the groundwork for the entry of West Germany into NATO, which finally took place on May 5, 1955.

This event turned the tables on everything that had been decided in Potsdam regarding the payment of war reparations. No reparations were paid in industrial equipment to Greece, and the shipment of chemical and metallurgical machinery was cancelled.

**On the contrary, in June of 1955, the Greek Parliament decided to return German property located in Greece, to its German owners.**

When asked by Member of Parliament John Zigdis why Greece had not claimed what was owed by Germany, the government responded vaguely. In fact the Foreign Ministry rushed to issue an announcement that it will not accept any applications for compensation of victims.



Fig.8.Untitled



Fig. 9. Picture of Nazi flag with cartoon commentary and at the monument to the victims of the holocaust at Ligiades (Ioannina), the Members of the Board of EΣΔΟΓΕ together with surviving residents (October 1, 2000).

#### 4.5 Negotiations and conventions

In July 1957, the countries with outstanding reparation claims against Germany demanded that it shapes up and goes ahead with their payoff.

Germany labeled the issue humanitarian and procrastinated.

In December 1957, a new round of talks resulted in new agreements, thanks to which France secured 400 million Marks; the Netherlands, 280 million Marks; and Belgium, 80,000,000 Marks.

Germany's main argument for not fulfilling its obligations was that given the separation of Germany into two states (West Germany and East Germany), there was no single German state that either received a loan from Greece or destroyed the economy of Greece in the guise of the Third Reich.

#### 4.6 The 2+4 Treaty of 1990 in Moscow

On August 31, 1990, a decision to unite the two German states was reached; and on September 12, 1990, an agreement was signed in Moscow between the two German States (East and West, and the four allied powers occupying Germany (USA, England, France and the USSR). It was known as the "2+4" "Substitute Peace Treaty" agreement (Ersatzfriedenvertrag), under whose terms Germany, now united, would "acquire full sovereignty in its internal and external affairs."

This agreement also provided for the payment by a now united Germany, of those amounts due the countries, as well as the victims of Nazi atrocities during World War II. Also a period of five years was specified, i.e., till 1995, for interested countries to submit their applications.

On November 14, 1995, shortly before the deadline expired, George-Alexander Magakis, then Foreign Minister representing the Greek government, presented a relevant *note verbale* to the German Foreign Minister Hartmann through its ambassador in Bonn, John Boulogiannis-Tsaggaridis.

To make it easier, the Greek government proposed the separate evaluation of different claims, with the Occupation Loan being first on the list.

On that same day, the German government responded with a dismissive press release, which included the following:

Foreign Minister Hartmann today received the Greek Ambassador [...]. Foreign Minister Hartmann pointed out that the clear position of the government of the Federal Republic regarding the Greek demand has long been known to the Greek government. After over fifty years since the end of the war and decades of reliable and close cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany with the international community, the problem of reparations lost its justificatory basis. Therefore, the Greek government should not expect the Federal government to engage in talks on this subject.



Fig. 10. On May 23, 1941, an Austrian soldier is photographed at the laea on the Acropolis. This photograph was found at a house which had been requisitioned by German occupation troops in Crete. (sent to the author by Dinos Delfos).

Anton Maistauer  
 Vienna 27.  
 Volkertplatz 5/8  
 Zum Glück meiner  
 lieben Freund und meine  
 werden aus Griechenland 23.7.41.  
 Heil Hitler!

## 5. WHAT GERMANY HAS PAID THUS FAR

"Germany will not be under enemy occupation in the year 2000. The German nation will be the intellectual leader of civilized humanity. We are earning that right in this war. This world struggle with our enemies will remain only a bad dream in people's memory. Our children and their children will erect monuments to their fathers and mothers for the hardships they suffered, for the stoic steadfastness with which they bore all, for the bravery they displayed, for the heroism with which they fought, for the loyalty they showed to their Führer and to his ideals in difficult times. Our hopes will be realized in their world, and our ideals will become a reality."

Joseph Goebbels

Article in *Das Reich*, February 25, 1945

### *Germany's pretexts*

German policy on the issue of non-payment of debts to Greece goes well beyond the limits of one's imagination.

Germany doesn't sign a peace treaty with Greece, in order not to have to fulfill its debt obligations. It argues, moreover, that it already paid us 115 million Marks in 1960, and that it has made restitution to the prisoners of the extermination camps.

Germany has indeed given half of the 115 million Marks, but in the section that follows, the reader will discover the shameful relevant transaction which in fact *did* take place.

And yes, Germany compensated 5,500 hostages of the 105,000 who were martyred or murdered in the brutal Nazi camps.

**But under no circumstances whatsoever are these two issues related to the archaeological treasures they ripped off and never returned; or the compulsory loan of \$3.5 billion (1938 market value); or with the compensation of victims of the holocausts; or the reparations paid by Germany to all countries except Greece. Germany must pay Greece \$7.1 billion - U.S., 1938 market value - as determined by the 19-member Allied Commission in Paris in 1946.**

### 5.1 The Merten case and his release, for 115? Million Marks

The Merten case and his release in exchange for 115 million Deutschmarks is one of the most shameful cases of inverse auction in Greek history. The Germans claim, either informally or formally, that they have paid us off by giving us 115 million Deutschmarks. Let's see how much truth there is to this, however, and more importantly, how it came about. Why did the Germans decide, in fact, to give us



money so suddenly? The reason becomes clear only after a thorough examination of the subject.

Here then are the facts, and I dare anyone to refute them.

After the end of World War II, Greece too began prosecuting war criminals, and the Greek National Office of War Crimes<sup>81</sup> was established at the time. The Special Military Tribunal tried and convicted some of those who had committed crimes against the Greek People<sup>82</sup>.

Although the Greek National Office of War Crimes had requested the extradition of certain war criminals, Greece was not successful as regards the following: a) Field Marshal Wilhelm von Liszt, who commanded the 12th Army that invaded and conquered Greece between April 6 and May 30, 1941; b) SS General Walter Schimana, who commanded the Security Battalions, and was responsible for the persecution of Greeks of Jewish descent; c) Karl Hubert Lanz, commander of the 12th Mountain Division, responsible for crimes in Epirus; d) Flieger Wilhelm Speidel, military commander of southern Greece from October, 1942 to September, 1943; e) Walter Kuntze, deputy commander of Army Group E (Greece - Yugoslavia); and f) Alexander Löhr, commander of Army Group E.

However, Greece did succeed in securing the extradition of the "Hangman of Crete", Fritz Schubert, who was responsible for the atrocities committed in Hortiatis and who was sentenced to death.

It also secured the extradition of the commander of Crete, General Alexander André, who was tried in 1947, and sentenced to life imprisonment, thanks to the intervention of a British general. He was released in 1951.

In 1957, Maximilian Merten<sup>83</sup>, the main culprit for the imprisonment of 56,000 Thessalonica denizens of Jewish descent, came to Greece to testify for the defense of a subordinate accused of war crimes. The Jews had been sent to the extermination camps, and only 1,950 returned after the war. The prosecutor, Andreas Tousis, whom Max Merten visited to testify on behalf of his friend, recognized Merten, and ordered his arrest and confinement in Averof prison.

The Merten trial was held from February 11 to March 5, 1959, and the Special War Crimes Tribunal imposed a consolidated sentence of 25 years imprisonment.

Maximilian Merten had powerful friends in the then German government, who brought tremendous pressure on the Greek government of Constantine Karamanlis, who yielded. A special law was passed (Law 3933/1959), and published in the Government Gazette (GG A31 February 19, 1959). It allowed for war criminals detained in Greece to be sent to Germany for trial. And so this is how on the night of

November 5, 1959, Merten was released from Averof<sup>84</sup> prison and put on a flight to Germany. Furthermore, all prosecutions of war criminals in Greece were stopped, and all defendants were sent to Germany to be tried there<sup>85</sup>.



Fig. 11. Max Merten

This is how the first part of the scheme, of this despicable agreement, relating to the release of Max Merten, ended.

The second part of the scheme was economic diplomacy. Israel did not have diplomatic relations with Germany. The latter, in an attempt to gain some absolution for its war crimes, did everything it could to establish such a relationship, and left no stone unturned in its effort to achieve it. To cajole Israel, therefore, they thought about giving 115 million Deutschemarks to the Greek Government for the benefit of the families of Jewish victims of Nazi atrocities. That's why an agreement between the ambassadors of Greece and West Germany was signed in Bonn, which provided that: *"[...] in favor of Greek nationals harmed by Nazi persecutions, by reason of race, religion, or world view" (Article 1 of the Bonn Treaty, March 15, 1960)*<sup>86</sup>.

The third part of the scheme was a verbal agreement. Germany accepted Greek workers as immigrants to work in factories. This verbal agreement was even considered as one of Karamanlis' greatest achievements, and is presented as such to this day. Turkey, however, had already achieved the same understanding, and in fact had already sent many Turkish workers to Germany. In any event, Germany didn't have to sacrifice anything: they needed cheap labor, and found it in Greek immigrants<sup>87</sup>.

Of particular importance is the second part of this despicable agreement, because the Germans claim that they settled their outstanding debts to Greece with the money referred to in the March 15, 1960 treaty. The truth is that they didn't succeed in their attempt to float this argument. They sought to insert a paragraph stating that the amount of 115 million Marks<sup>88</sup> covered all German debt obligations to Greece, but the Greek ambassador Thomas Ypsilantis categorically refused to agree or sign on to this. Nevertheless, the German Deputy Foreign Minister, in a letter to the Greek Ambassador, then formally requested that future Greek governments not again make *"a demand for reparations for acts of Nazi persecution during the war and the Occupation."*

By return letter on the same day, Ambassador Thomas Ypsilantis rejected this new attempt by Germany to write off its debts to Greece and emphasized: *"[Greece] nonetheless reserves the right to bring up demands for reparations based on Nazi persecutions*

*during the war and the occupation*<sup>89</sup>. Continuing on, Thomas Ypsilantis reminded the Deputy Foreign Minister of the 1953 agreement, which expressly states the existence of German debts.

When he returned to Greece, Thomas Ypsilantis handed in his resignation. It seems that he could no longer deal with the pressure brought to bear by both the Greek and the German side. The government of Constantine Karamanlis, under Law 4178/61, ratified the agreement in the Greek parliament.

Consequently, the attempt to pronounce German debts settled at a cost of 115 million Marks paid for the release of Merten, failed miserably, but left Thomas Ypsilantis a victim of the affair.

The other aspect of the despicable agreement is the fate of the 115 million Marks. While it is not known exactly how, it was determined that the relatives of each victim would receive 36,000 drachmas. Actually, listed relatives<sup>90</sup> got only 18,000 drachmas each. It was unclear how the 36,000 drachmas became 18,000. The answer came 50 years later from the Deputy Finance Minister of Germany, who revealed that only the first two installments of the 115 million Marks had been transferred, i.e., only 65 million Marks. Therefore, an additional 50 million Marks, on top of the \$3.5 billion from the compulsory loan and the \$7.1 billion (U.S., 1938 market value) in reparations, must be added to the debt of Germany to Greece.

This is the story of the 115 million Marks. They were given to release Max Merten and to stop the prosecution of war criminals in Greece. It was a transaction typical of the servile deference of Greek governments towards powerful European oppressors.

## 5.2 The hostages and their...fees

Another issue, which was raised in 1998, related to compensation of prisoners<sup>91</sup>.

The story is as follows:

With its **final solution**, the Nazi regime wanted to exterminate the Jews<sup>92</sup>. But it didn't exterminate all of them. Several hundred workers survived, specialists in high-tech operations within German industry that had to keep going; and they could not be replaced if they were executed. That's why they were saved.

When finally liberated, these Jews fled to the U.S. At some point, they decided to reclaim from Germany the payment of their wages, because as camp prisoners they were paid only the food they consumed. They appealed to the courts in the U.S. which upheld not only their demand to receive compensation for their unpaid wages, but also for their pain and suffering.

When the number of convictions ballooned, and the adjudicated amounts skyrocketed, Germany decided to resolve the issue through negotiations. It called a meeting of all the countries of Europe which had been conquered by German troops and from which hostages had been taken, to discuss the problem of their compensations.

**They invited the Greek government to attend. The government of Greece,**

**however, headed by Prime Minister Kostas Simitis, refused to respond or send a representative to the meeting.**

The Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany, when informed of the fact, remonstrated with the Simitis Government, which again turned a deaf ear.

After lengthy negotiations which lasted for 18 months, not just in Germany<sup>93</sup>, but also between Germany and the countries that during the war were occupied by German troops, an agreement was reached in March of 2000 between Germany and the U.S., Israel, Poland, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the Czech Republic, under which the prisoners of the Nazi concentration camps would be compensated according to the length of time they were held, their work, and also for the medical experiments that had been performed on them.

Germany created a specific foundation, called Memory, Responsibility and the Future. This foundation collected a total of 2.5 billion Marks from the German government and those German industrial companies that had used prisoners as laborers, for the purpose of compensating victims. The upper compensation limit for each beneficiary was set to 15,000 Deutschemarks (2,700,000 drachmas).

The foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and the Future instructed the International Organization of Migrants (ΔOM) to pay restitution to the prisoner-victims of Nazi atrocities. ΔOM was assigned the entire responsibility for handling the payments.

ΔOM established a special committee in Geneva to handle the matter, to which Daniel Esdras was appointed to represent Greece. Prospective beneficiaries were required to submit their applications and all confirming details to this committee.

The Greek government abstained from all these procedures. The special committee of ΔOM, however, which met in Geneva, recognized the representative of the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany, Gerasimos Balaouras, and accepted him at its meetings, but only as an observer without voting rights<sup>94</sup>.

Applications from Greece numbered 73,000, 5,500 of which were accepted as submitted by hostages-victims. Some hostages refused to apply because of the manner in which the whole issue had been debased, but others simply hadn't been informed.

The absence of the Greek government from the negotiations and its failure to participate in the procedure that would make the compensations come true, compromises the then Prime Minister Costas Simitis, and makes him accountable to the victims, to his own father who was one of the resistance fighters, and to the history of this ill-fated land.

The compensation of hostages, victims of Nazi atrocities, is in no way related to other Wehrmacht victims, or the victims of the holocausts, let alone the German debts to the Greek state, to wit: the return of archaeological treasures, the payment of reparations totaling \$7.1 billion, and the repayment of the compulsory loan totaling \$3.5 billion (U.S., 1938 market value).



A chef wearing a shirt reading SIEMENS across his chest and feeding the two Greek parties in power since the fall of the Junta (ND and PASOK):  
 “Am I talking to Kokkinia? If you’re asking about German reparations, we’ll run a little late. We got bogged down on the matter of Distomo.”

Fig. 12. Political Cartoon published in the newspaper Eleftherotypia.

## 6. DEMANDS FOR PAYMENT

*"The obligation to seek the repayment of the German debt is an uncompromising one, for two reasons. One is legal, the other ethical.*

*First, the obligation rests on clear legal foundations which become unshakable in view of the following unusual event: A few weeks before the collapse of Nazi Germany, the competent authorities of the then Reichsbank, expressly recognized the binding nature of this "German debt to Greece", at the time estimated at 476 million Marks, in an opinion submitted to the German Finance Ministry and marked "for future use".*

*From a moral point of view, the absolute binding obligation of Germany to repay the loan is based on the fact that it was granted with a "gun to the head", and was one of the main causes of the ensuing economic misery and the death by starvation of at least 300,000 Greeks. It is no exaggeration to suggest that the loan constituted a historically unprecedented form of that most appalling crime, the crime of genocide."*

George-Alexander Magakis

Convincing Germany to repay its debts to Greece has been an unprecedented adventure as well as a tragedy.

On the one hand, the refusal of Germany to fulfill its obligations and on the other the refusal of the Greek governments of the day to claim what international organizations deservedly awarded Greece, created formidable obstacles in reaching an effective solution of the problem.

The German arrears to Greece have turned out to be a case of conscious, from month to month and from year to year, consignment to the Tartars of oblivion.

Perhaps the handful of Resistance fighters, which has kept the torch lit on this subject, did not let the flame die, but the repeated postponements and the diffidence of the Greek governments, served only to disappoint even the relatives of the victims of Nazi atrocities, who remain helpless, and, with few exceptions, such as the citizens of Distomo, have taken no action.

In this chapter, I describe the efforts of the government to bury the issue and of the Resistance fighters to unearth it. Here, readers will acquaint themselves with the steps taken by the government, the minor opposition parties, the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany, the relatives of the victims, the Network of Martyred Towns and Villages (of the holocausts), and finally, Germany itself.

It is the tragic story of an issue that went through the Scylla of Cold War interests and the Charybdis of hatred for the Greek Resistance.

## 6.1 The official position of the Greek government

The governments of Greece have followed the most bizarre and erratic policy on the issue of German war reparations. Captive to Cold War policies, NATO policy, and to the unfathomable fury against the Resistance, Greek governments continually refused to press the issue of reparations prior to the Reunification of Germany. They didn't deny their existence, but they didn't broach the subject of reparations with the German governments either.

Following the reunification of the two German states in 1990, the Greek government let five years go by, and raised the issue with the German government then in power just short of the deadline. Here's how: the Foreign Minister George Alexander Magakis raised the issue in a *note verbale* to the German Deputy Foreign Minister through the Greek ambassador in Bonn, John Bourloyannis-Tsaggaridis<sup>95</sup>.

From that time up to this day, under pressure from the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany, the Network of Martyred Towns and Villages, as well as the minor opposition parties (KKE, ΣΥΝ, ΣΥΡΙΖΑ) with questions in Parliament, no Greek government reached the point of denying that Germany owes money to Greece, but these debts have never been pursued.

The government proclaims, of course, that "Greece has never relinquished its claims," but in terms of advancing these claims, it always invokes the "conjuncture of bilateral and international relations" and insinuates that they are never auspicious. In this way, Greece actually forfeits rights guaranteed by international law, by natural law, by reason, by substance, and by ethics<sup>96</sup>.



Hitler sitting at desk marked 'German Reich': "Herr Tsolakoglou...I'm calling you again about that nerous Occupation Loan..."

Response on the telephone: "Don't drive me crazy, Adolph! We'll lower the interest rate only if you sell off your national assets!"

Fig 13. Political cartoon

## 6.2 The position of minor opposition parties

In contrast to the attitude of all Greek governments, the minor opposition parties raised the issue from the beginning, and continued to raise it ever since the

reunification of the two German states, whereupon resolving it became a distinct possibility. Specifically:

#### 6.2.1 KKE

The KKE, the Communist Party of Greece, has been in favor of laying claim to the debt of Germany to Greece from the very beginning.

The members of KKE were fighters of the Resistance and in 1946, founded the Pan-Hellenic Union of National Resistance Fighters (ΠΕΑΕΑ), whose principal positions included the issue of reclaiming reparations from Germany<sup>97</sup>.

Moreover, the members of KKE and its supporters who were Resistance fighters founded the Association of Victims of Nazi Atrocities, also in 1946.

The KKE hasn't missed any opportunity to raise the issue of Germany's debts to Greece.

The KKE delegates brought the matter up before Parliament triggering a discussion in 1977, 1986 and 1988. Actually, when Germany was reunited and resolving the problem became a distinct possibility, parliamentary interpellations and questions put to ministers through parliament have not stopped to this day<sup>98</sup>.

The issue of Germany's outstanding debts has also been tabled and continues to be tabled for discussion by the KKE delegates of the European Parliament.

#### 6.2.2 ΣΥΝ

The Coalition of the Left, Progress and Ecology (ΣΥΝ), raised the issue of Germany's debts to Greece with parliamentary interpellations and questions put to ministers as soon as it was founded and won representation in Parliament. The then president of ΣΥΝ, Nikos Konstantopoulos, declared on October 1, 1995: *"The demand for reparations, due to the historical and political culpability of the Greek governments, has been transformed to legal claims of individual persons. [...] From 1990 onwards, Greece, through its governments, should have raised the issue on the right basis, and stressed its actual meaning"*.

#### 6.2.3 ΣΥΡΙΖΑ

Since 2003, when it was founded, the Coalition of the Radical Left (ΣΥΡΙΖΑ) raised the issue through parliamentary interpellations and questions put to ministers while outside Parliament, it has never ceased to publicize the issue of Germany's debts to Greece.

ΣΥΡΙΖΑ delegates to the Greek and the European Parliament have raised the issue in both of these bodies.

#### 6.2.4 THE INITIATIVES OF INDIVIDUAL DELEGATES

In March of 2010, Pandelis Economou, a Member of Parliament, asked the Committee on National Defense and Foreign Affairs to call Manolis Glezos to testify as a representative of the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany and expand on the subject of the German debts.

Glezos was eventually called, and was given 15 minutes to elaborate on the subject at the Committee session of July 27, 2011. All parties agreed that he should be called again formally within two months to develop the matter in greater detail at a joint session of the Committees of Justice and Finance.



After repeated postponements contrary to the desires of 28 members of Parliament<sup>99</sup>, another 22 delegates joined in support of holding the meeting. Finally, on March 15, 2012<sup>100</sup>, the decision was reached to hold a joint session of the Committees on Defense and Foreign Affairs and Finance, on March 20, 2012, and the following persons were invited to express their views: Manolis Roukounas (Emeritus Professor of International Relations); Stelios Perrakis (Professor of International and European Institutions); Adonis Bredimas (Professor of International Law); George Provopoulos (Governor of the Bank of Greece); and Manolis Glezos.

This session did take place on March 20, 2012.

### 6.3 The position of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ

The Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany (ΕΣΔΟΓΕ) was founded on January 22, 1996, the result of several years of arrangements (since 1991), mainly between the Resistance organizations ΠΕΑΕΑ, ΠΟΑΕΑ, ΠΣΑΕΑ, made of fighters of the Resistance organizations ΕΑΜ, ΕΛΑΣ, ΕΠΟΝ, ΕΑ, ΕΔΕΣ, ΠΕΑΝ, and the United National Resistance 1941-1944, as well as representatives of cities that had endured holocausts.

ΕΣΔΟΓΕ's creation was assisted by the Chamber of Trade Crafts and the Thessalonica Business Chamber of Commerce, which initiated the establishment of an institution claiming German debts to Greece.

Participants included representatives from all walks of life, trade unionists and scientists, professors and artists, members of Parliament, university rectors, representatives of cultural associations and consortia, as well as representatives of the Greek Jewish community.

There were 365 founding members. They formed 10 working groups, and elected a Coordinating Committee<sup>101</sup>.

The Council launched initiatives to inform the Greek People, and to mobilize them for claiming Germany's debts to Greece. It organized gatherings throughout Greece and took part in rallies having the same goal, both in Greece and in Germany.

To promote its objective, it took part in conferences in Greece and Germany and organized a special conference jointly with the University of Economics (formerly ΑΣΟΕΕ).

It organized public protests, made representations, and held meetings with political parties, the German Embassy in Athens, and the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin.

ΕΣΔΟΓΕ has published the book *Black Bible of Occupation - Schwarzbuch der Besatzung* in Greek and German, which has gone through three editions.

The first edition was published in 1999, sponsored by the Commercial Bank of Greece, the Agricultural Bank of Greece, and the Piraeus Port Organization.

The second, corrected, edition was published in 2006; it contained additional material, and was sponsored by the Prefecture of Athens.

The third edition, published in English as well, came out in 2012, and was sponsored by the Greek Parliament.

Since 1996, ΕΣΔΟΓΕ has been issuing a bulletin, which evolved into a monthly publication entitled Memory and Debt, and as of this writing, has published 114 issues.

Overall, ΕΣΔΟΓΕ has been responsible for organizing 9 conferences<sup>102</sup>.

#### **6.4 Relatives of the victims**

In 1946, relatives of the victims of Nazi atrocities created the first nationwide organization<sup>103</sup> under the name "The Phoenix." It was outlawed in 1947, but started functioning again in 1952, after the end of the Civil War. During the Junta period, it was dissolved again, and many of its members were exiled. After the end of the dictatorship, it regrouped and is functioning again.

Throughout its entire existence and operation, "The Phoenix" never stopped showcasing the issue of compensation to victims of Nazi atrocities, along with the more general one of German debts to Greece.

As time went by, victims' organizations were formed, mainly in martyred towns that suffered holocausts such as Kalavryta, Distomo, Hortiatis, Viannos, and others.

In 2000, with the help of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, the Pan-Hellenic Union of Victims of the Nazi Occupation was formed; it held its first National Congress on April 12, 2002.

#### **6.5 The holocausts**

According to international law, a martyred village or town merits the designation holocaust, if it suffered a 10% loss of its population, or if it was completely and entirely destroyed by the occupying troops.

In Greece the martyred villages, towns and cities number close to 100. There are 89 internationally recognized ones.

After persistent efforts, and with the help of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, 37 of these towns and villages formed the Network of Martyred Greek Towns and Villages 1940-1945, in Kalavryta on December 12, 2000.

Its founding congress elected a 7-member Board of Directors<sup>104</sup> and began the campaign to promote the memory of historical events, to obtain recognition of the struggles and sacrifices of the Greek people, to highlight the holocausts, and to claim Germany's long overdue debts to Greece.

On March 31, 2002, the first Annual General Meeting was held.

The Network of Martyred Greek Towns and Villages<sup>105</sup> has organized several conferences. It has also established contact, and collaborates with, similar organizations in France, the Czech Republic, and Poland, and has taken part in international conferences.

The year 2007 saw the formation of a special organization, the National Network of New Martyred Towns and Villages of Greece (from the period 1940-1945), which has engaged in joint activities with the German Forum Actuelles and the Czech Lidici Memorial.

## 6.6 By Germany itself

The fairness of the demand to receive payment for Germany's debts to Greece has touched the German people themselves.

In 1995, German friends of mine invited me to Hannover for a series of events, discussions and surveys, mainly concerning issues pertaining to the Environment and Direct Democracy<sup>106</sup>.

One evening was dedicated to the subject of German debts to Greece.

The German audience for the first time learned about the topic. The response was positive.

When I returned to Aperathou, I received a call from the newspaper *Die Zeit*, which asked me to write an article about the topic of my talk in Hannover.

I wrote the article and sent it without a title. It was added by the newspaper: *Ein Unrecht muß gesühnt werden* (“An injustice that must be rectified”). That says it all.

With the publication of my article, the issue of German debts to Greece became known throughout Germany and enjoyed a three-fold response.

One of the responses was from German anti-fascists, their central core being in Hamburg; the second response was from the leftist party, Die Linke; and the third response was from the German unions.

### 6.6.1 THE GERMAN ANTI-FASCISTS

The Hamburg Anti-Fascists eventually formed the Association AKuBiZ, in 2001, with operations in Germany and Greece<sup>107</sup>.

Delegates of AKuBiZ visit Greece every year, especially the martyred cities of Distomo, Kalavryta, and Nikaia. Wreathes are laid at the sites of execution and in Kessariani. They meet with ΕΣΔΟΓΕ and Greek officials, and hold demonstration at the German Embassy.

### 6.6.2 THE SUBJECT OF DEBTS IN THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT

The first time the issue of German debts to Greece came up in the German Parliament was in October, 1995 and was brought up by a party that belongs to the Left, Die Linke. Through its delegate, Ulla Jelpke, it raised the issue of the debts. From that time, and every so often, it returns to the issue, and asks for the vindication of Greece.

### 6.6.3 GERMAN TRADE UNIONS

German unions visited Greece, as a manifestation of solidarity towards the Greek people, and on September 16, 2012 laid a wreath in Kessariani, the site of execution; they have joined the demand that Germany settles its debts to Greece.



Fig. 14. Photograph with representatives of the German unions in Kaisariani on September 16, 2012.

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### **6.7 More and more Greeks reproach Germany**

Since late last month, thousands of Greeks have had recourse to Greek courts seeking recompense from Germany. They demand compensation for the loss of their fellow countrymen and other calamities suffered during the three and a half years of German occupation of Greece during World War II.

For decades, I have been asking Germany to honor its obligations to Greece emanating from the World Wars, if the will really exists to bring this chapter of the German-Greek past to an end.

The German side has so far held back the payment of reparations on the grounds that this demand was postponed "indefinitely" in 1953 at the London Conference, till there is a peace pact between Germany and the Allies, a condition that has yet to be met.

According to prevailing legal opinion, the Reunification Treaty signed by the two German states and the four victorious powers of World War II in Moscow on September 12, 1990, (known as the 2 + 4 Agreement) is the equivalent of such a peace treaty. Consequently, Germany, now unified, is since 1990 obliged to meet its war reparations obligations emanating from World War II.

German obligations to Greece include the following amounts:

1. From World War I, payment of 80 million Deutschemarks (1938 market value).
2. From the period between World War I and World War II, import/export clearing differences in the amount of \$523,873,000 (U.S., 1938 market value).
3. From demands for restoration as estimated by the 1946 Conference of the victorious Allied powers in Paris in 1946, amounting to \$7.1 billion (U.S., 1938 market value) as compensation for the seizure of private and state property, looting, destruction).
4. Demands for the return of monies from the compulsory loan of U.S. \$3.5 billion (1938 market value), forced on the Bank of Greece in 1942.
5. The cost of feeding the Africa Corps troops of General Rommel (estimated at \$13 billion U.S.).

Not included in these reparations are the huge losses of life in our country. With a population of 7,000,000, Greece lost: 70,000 souls in direct combat, 12,000 from indirect warfare, 38,960 from executions, 100,000 murdered prisoners in concentration camps (a large part of whom were Greek Jews), and 600,000 from starvation.

The demand for German reparations is not just financial. There is also a moral and political dimension. That was taken into account when Italy paid its obligations to Greece...in full!

Also, Bulgaria, which fought on the Axis side together with Germany and Italy from 1941 to 1944, has fulfilled all its obligations in rectifying the injustices their troops inflicted on the Greek people. Why, then, should Germany be relieved of its obligations?

Because of the atrocities that took place during the Nazi occupation, the Greek nation experienced during World War II the bloodiest and most suffocating slavery in its three thousand years of history. I myself am convinced that the German people today wish to have nothing to do with National Socialism. But they must finally rid themselves of the problem surrounding the German occupation of Greece, and the resultant demands to remedy its effects. Greece seeks only what it deserves. Our people do not seek revenge. But they definitely seek to have Germany fulfill its obligations immediately.

There are options and ways in which Germany can pay reparations without harming the German economy: providing scholarships to students and young scientists from Greece to study in Germany, in which case priority would go to the descendants of victims of the Nazis; German transfer of know-how; infrastructure projects carried out by German companies operating in Greece and paid by Germany. Direct financial assistance – the precise terms and the specific timetable could be worked out by a bilateral financial committee.

Greece and Germany belong to the European Union and are working for a united Europe. The creation of this unified Europe can only be established on the

friendship and trust between the two countries, and can only be achieved by overcoming the unresolved problems of their common history.



Fig. 15. On June 6, 2004, at the entrance to the Acropolis, a protest was organized jointly by members of the Greek National Council and a group of 10 representatives of the German Solidarity Movement to wards the victims of Nazi atrocities in Greece HAMBURG-DISTOMO.



Fig. 16. .In the aforementioned demonstration of June 6, 2004, a banner in 3 languages was hung which read: “Germany must pay. We demand restitution to all Greek victims of Nazism”.



Fig. 17. A scene from the June 6, 2004, demonstration.

## EPILOGUE

*“Researching the dramatic events of the occupation is not intended to foment feelings of hatred and revenge of the Greek people against those in whose hands they suffered crimes, because this contravenes Christian principles, as well as the character and the proverbial generosity of the Greek People.”*

Dimitrios J. Magriotis,  
*Greece's Sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*

The unprecedented tragedy suffered by the Greek people in the hands of German occupation troops causes not only indignation, but outrage in view of the refusal of the German governments to remedy the destruction wrought by the Wehrmacht and to compensate the victims of its atrocities.

Consciences are stirred in view of the indubitable fact that the Third Reich committed crimes against peace in its wanton and vicious aggression against Greece.

Germany violated the laws and customs of war and committed war crimes, when it executed prisoners of war, when it took hostages and executed them, when it executed non-combatants, when it destroyed towns and villages, when it starved the population.

It committed crimes against humanity when it plundered the national wealth, when it destroyed the economy of Greece, when it took prisoners and moved them to concentration camps, when it practiced genocide, when it looted archaeological treasures and works of art, and when it violated all notion of law, custom and culture of a people that was not imperialist, and always promoted culture and humanity.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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- My daughter Maria Glezou in typing my manuscripts.
- My wife Georgia Argyropoulou in compiling the literature.
- My sister Vassiliki Dimitrokali in compiling the list of publications.



## FOOTNOTES

### 1. Order of Battle (Deployed Forces)

#### GERMAN ATTACKING FORCES

The German forces arrayed against Greece consisted of:

a) the 12<sup>th</sup> Field Army, commanded by Field Marshall Wilhelm List, and made up of the following forces:

– the 18<sup>th</sup> Mountain Army Corps, commanded by Lieutenant General Franz Boehme, made up of the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 72<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Divisions, the 125<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armored Division.

– the 30<sup>th</sup> Army Corps, commanded by Artillery General Otto Hartmann, made up of the 50<sup>th</sup> and the 164<sup>th</sup> Infantry Divisions

– the 40<sup>th</sup> Panzer Corps, under Lieutenant General Georg Stumme, made up of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division, the 9<sup>th</sup> Armored Division, and a mechanized infantry regiment of the SS belonging to Hitler's Special Bodyguard.

– the 41<sup>st</sup> Army Corps, made up of the mechanized SS division "Das Reich", the "Hermann Goering" brigade, and the "Great German" mechanized regiment.

– the 506<sup>th</sup> Army Corps, commanded by Cavalry General Georg Lidemann, made up of the 46<sup>th</sup>, the 76<sup>th</sup>, and the 198<sup>th</sup> Infantry Divisions, and an armored division.

– the 1<sup>st</sup> Panzer Group, under Field Marshal Ewald von Kleist, made up of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> Armored Divisions, the 60<sup>th</sup> Mechanize Division, the 4<sup>th</sup> Mountain Division, and the 294<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division.

b) the 8<sup>th</sup> Air Corps, with 650 aircraft (280 of which, bombers; and 150 of which, Stuka dive bombers, commanded by Richthofen.

#### GREEK DEFENSE FORCES

Greece, busy on the Albania front against Italy, arrayed three divisions (the 7<sup>th</sup>, the 14<sup>th</sup>, and the 18<sup>th</sup>) on the Greek-Bulgarian border; a brigade in eastern Macedonia, and a brigade (of 3 regiments) in Western Thrace – i.e. only three divisions and two brigades.

On another front, the Greek-Yugoslavian border, in Central Macedonia, another two infantry divisions were arrayed (the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup>) and a motorized (the 19<sup>th</sup>) division with 30 light tanks.

2. Some writers doubt that there was such a plan against the Greek People, because they couldn't find any written evidence of it in Hitler's documents. As if writing it down was something expected of Hitler! There exists, however, the harsh reality of events that clearly proves Hitler's plan. Didn't Hitler divide and subdivide Greece? Yes or No? Didn't he attempt through starvation and executions to wipe out the Greek People? Yes or No?

3. There's some confusion on this point, which must be cleared up. Germany's debts to Greece arise – almost exclusively – from the damage to the country's economy and population, during the Occupation (see Chapter 1).

4. Pastor Michael Schweitzer, of the Evangelical Church of German speakers in Greece, entitles as follows his speech at a symposium that took place on November 25, 1998, in the Old Parliament: "The ethical side of the question regarding reparations to victims and survivors of World War II" (*Black Bible*, edition ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, Athens, 1999, pages 36-44).

– George Alexander Magakis adds: "For all these reasons, it is legally and ethically necessary to solve the problem of German war reparations in all its aspects. Resolving this problem will also be the best foundation, on which to base a heartfelt unmarred friendship between our peoples, Greek and German, who, together with the other European nations, strive to build a United Europe." (from the book *Black Bible*, page 11).

5. See the Preamble

6. See Chapter 2.2: "The dead resulting from starvation".
7. Official data from the Bureau of National Statistics.
8. This book does not wish, does not pursue, and should not be construed as an attempt to rake up past passions; rather it looks forward to a righting of past wrongs, a condition that must be redressed.
9. The human soul is ashamed and revolts, as Pastor Michael Schweitzer says, upon reading, for example, the following communication about Distomo, issued by the German Embassy in Athens on January 23, 1995: *"The Federal Government is of the opinion that one cannot characterize retaliatory acts, for example in Distomo, as Nazi actions whose victims were harmed because of their race, religion or express defiance, but as reactions to partisan attacks, i.e., as acts of war.."*
10. The German magazine *Stern* published the letter of a German citizen, Walter Wollenweber, who *inter alia* wrote:

*Dear Greeks,  
Since 1981, we have belonged to the same family. Except that we have contributed more than any other people, to the common purse... i.e., around 200 billion, while you, conversely, have collected more than anyone else per capita, i.e., around 100 billion. Never before has a nation helped willfully another nation to such an extent and for such a long period of time. You are, literally, our most expensive friends.*

A Greek citizen, George P. Psomas, wrote the following letter in response:

*My dear Walter Wollenweber,  
My name is George P. Psomas.*

*I am a public servant and not a public employee, a term that the mass media of your country routinely employ to refer to us insultingly and with derision. My salary is 1,000 Euros per month, not per day, as you may have been led to believe. Since 1981, we belong to the same family. Except that in compensation for the 200 billion you refer to, we have granted you 40% of our defense budget, almost all of our telecommunications, the building of two major airports, as well as many kilometers of our national road network, in terms that are murky. If I've forgotten something, I extend my apologies. I note that we are among the largest importers of consumer products that your factories produce. The truth is that it isn't just our politicians who are responsible for this disaster. A large part of the responsibility belongs to a German company that bribed them, in order to be awarded the aforementioned public works. I suspect also that German shipyards are also to blame for selling us submarines that list. I am sure you don't believe me just yet, but please bear with me, and if I fail to convince you, then feel free to throw me out of the Eurozone, the nexus of Truth, Prosperity, Justice, and Fairness. Well, Walter, it's been a half century or more since the end of the World War II, i.e., since the time when Germany had to repay its debts to Greece. These debts, which only Germany refuses to pay in full (Bulgaria and Romania have already settled their respective obligations), consist of: [He listed them all.] Plus the disgraceful moral insults heaped upon the Greek people and the humanitarian ideals expressed by the Greek idea. This problem is not a financial one, it is of morals, of the highest moral value at that. I know, Walter, that my words are bothersome; however, what you wrote bothered me! But what bothered me most is what you think and wish to do with me and your "fellow" Greeks! One hundred thirty German companies operate in Greece, including nearly all the big ones with an annual turnover of 6.5 billion Euros. Finally, my dear friend Walter, I want you to give me back my culture, the one that you robbed from me (not you, personally, of course, but some of your fellow Germans), I want the immortal creations found in the museums of Berlin, Munich, London, Paris, Rome! I want them now that I am closer to death, and I wish to die close to my forefathers!*

The German conceded ignorance.

Rendered speechless by this retort, Wollenweber published a second article, in which he admits that his original letter contained serious accusations, and that he was unaware of the high value of profits that Greece confers to the German arms industry, which, as he admits, is a "strong argument in favor of Greece."

11. In 1995, an exhibition entitled "War of Extermination - Crimes of the Wehrmacht from 1941 to 1944" was held in Germany. In its foreword, one could read the following: "In 1945, just as Nazi Germany was being defeated, the former generals began the construction of a myth – the myth of the "clean Wehrmacht" (Sauberen Wehrmacht). This group, as it was called, had kept its distance from Hitler and the Nazi regime, had fulfilled their military duty with decency and dignity, and had been informed about the horrors of Himmler's Action Groups very much later. This assertion, which absolved millions of German and Austrian former soldiers, now defines today's public opinion. In 1995, fifty years later, the time has finally come to say goodbye to this lie and accept that a major crime has been committed. From 1941 to 1944, in the Balkans and in the Soviet Union, the Wehrmacht did not conduct a normal war, but a war of extermination against Jews, prisoners of war, and non-combatants, resulting in millions of victims. German military history has contributed greatly to clearly expose this situation. It refuses however, to confess that the Wehrmacht, on the whole, participated in all these crimes."

12. I personally had come to such an inaccurate distinction and this is why I wrote the following in the introduction of the section "Martyrology – Holocaust and the slaughter of innocents" (Black Bible, page 60), "The hatred and fury of the Nazis against the Greek People manifests itself from the early days of the Occupation to its last." Actually, I began as follows a list of matters of fact: "1941, June 2. The first holocaust. Kandanos, Chania. The Nazis execute 300 inhabitants and ravage the village." Nowhere did I write that it was German soldiers and the Wehrmacht that executed people and committed atrocities. Instead, I always wrote that these unspeakable crimes were committed by Hitler's Nazis.

-This confidential June 13, 1944 report (in the original) of the Occupation-appointed Prefect of Boeotia is the Annex Document # 1 found on pages 191-196 of the original 2012 edition of this book.

13. Pastor Michael Schweitzer, of the Evangelical Church of German speaking residents of Greece, in his speech at the conference held at the Old Parliament in Athens, on November 25, 1998, emphasizes, *inter alia*, the following: "Each one of us must ask himself if he remembers these crimes, if he opens the door of his soul to these atrocities." And he further states: "If Germany paid war reparations, it would express through its actions something of the sort: Yes, we confront the truth head on. Yes, we recognize that what happened in the name of Germany was a horrible injustice. Germany's unwillingness to pay war reparations, expresses something that in words would read: No, we are unable to confront the truth head on. No, we are not willing to recognize that what happened was a horrible injustice" (Black Bible, pages 40 and 44).

14. This selective exclusion of Greece indeed remains incomprehensible. Why do the Germans consider themselves responsible and guilty towards all the peoples of Europe, having paid the damages imputed by the Allied Commission in Paris in 1946, but exclude Greece? The issue remains, in no way can it be written off, and demands an explanation by the present day state of Germany.

There is, however, a completely different point of view, which is recorded in an article by George Siakandaris, Deputy Science Director of the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISTAME) - Andreas Papandreou, in the newspaper *Ta Nea* on January 20, 2011. We reproduce it without comment:

Distomo and reparations

*Criminalization of people absolves totalitarianism*

The possibility that the Greek State would appeal to the International Court of Justice in The Hague in favor of compensation claims brought by residents of Distomo (in a common front with Italy) for the damages they suffered and the victims they had during the Second World War opened up a new national front in the undeclared war against "callous" Germans.

In the Greek political firmament, even with the necessary diversification on matters of a procedural nature, everyone agrees that the Germans should pay for the crimes of Nazism. Yet, all of them do not understand (or perhaps pretend not to understand?) that concealed within the phrase "the Germans should pay for the crimes of the Nazis", is an entire ideological Maginot Line that suits a purely nationalistic reasoning. Certainly, the demand for repayment of the occupation loan is

something very different from the demand for war reparations, given the fact that today's Germany constitutes a legal extension of the Third Reich.

The crimes committed in Distomo, in Anogia, in Kalavryta, and in many other towns and villages of Greece, were crimes of the Nazi war machine, generating hate on a large scale towards people of a different class, ideology, race and nation. Accountable for these crimes cannot be either the German people or the German state in perpetuity, nor, of course, can anyone who participated in Nazi crimes be declared innocent.

It was the Germans who first opened the debate on Nazi crimes. The philosopher Jürgen Habermas, in the early decade of 2000, in response to the criticism, elaborated by Daniel Goldhagen in his study *"Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust"* did not hesitate to support some of the findings of that study. According to Goldhagen, the Holocaust was not carried out only by submissive instruments and frightened implementers, but ordinary Germans as well, who, like many other peoples, were imbued with Christian hatred towards Jews. Habermas, however, adds that although many facts justify the study, if we remain at this level, we are de-ideologizing a highly political issue.

The Germans are not by their nature, murderers. Every act, therefore, must be interpreted in its historical context, and not through studies subjectively attributing guilt in a collective ethico-political understanding free of moralizing (see a book written in Greek, *The Post-national Constellation*, Polis editions, Athens 2003).

Therefore, since these studies don't incriminate political behaviors, but instead national collective entities, the only thing they do is incriminate people (in this case, all Germans) and exonerate ideologies (specifically, Nazism).

It's reasonable for those who suffered from the Nazi atrocities to demand vindication: moral, political and financial. And nobody has objected to this demand. But it's quite a different matter to address this demand to whole nations, time over time.

The moral vindication of Nazi victims should not be the condemnation of Germany, but the condemnation of all totalitarian hateful ideologies that generate phenomena such as Nazism. Financial compensation for all the people who suffered from Nazi totalitarianism (as well as other ideologies) cannot be unrelated to the bet placed by the current crisis regarding Europe. Namely, the imposition of redistributive liabilities (Eurobonds and transfer payments), upon the major private and public (see Germany) agents of the European Union in order to generate the preconditions for a financially and politically unified European Union. A unified Europe that, as a global player, can operate as a force driving globalization, not only of markets, but also of democratic institutions and the judiciary system.

I would concede the falsity of what I assert in this note if someone produced evidence to support that the Melians were compensated by the Athenians; the Athenians by the Macedonians of Alexander the Great; The peoples of Eurasia by the Mongols; the Bulgarians by the Byzantines of Basil the Bulgarslayer; the Viennese in 1683 by Sultan Mehmed IV; the Poles in Katyn by Stalin's Russians; the gypsies of Hungary and Romania by the Hungarian and Romanian quislings, etc. If so, then let's turn History over to the court of claims.

**15.** There are other estimates concerning the debts of the First World War:

– Michael P. Lyberatos writes: *"It should also be noted that there was a balance of war reparations owed by Germany from the First World War, which in 1972 was readjusted, and came to the amount of \$263 million (U.S.). Greek calculations for the German debts, that had not been repaid to the country, concerned the 136,400,000 gold Marks"* (in a publication of Ελευθεροτυπία entitled *German indemnities*, p 162).

– Simeon (Makis) Lyberatos, in the publication *"Πιζοσπάσση"* (February 15, 1995) writes: "According to some calculations today, [early 1995] they amount to 41.20 billion U.S. dollars."

**16.** We reproduce the following excerpt from the resolution of the Prefectural Council of Serres, reached on December 23, 2010, concerning the payment of the debts of Germany to Greece: "Faced with this unimaginable injustice, we feel obliged to remind the German government of the

following:

1. By what right does Germany fail to pay its indisputable debt to Greece and the Greek people? It is a fact that Italy and Bulgaria have repaid their obligations to Greece. Isn't it irrational that these two countries, which came as conquerors to Greece because of the Nazis, have paid up, while Germany opts out?

2. Isn't it preposterous that all the countries which became involved in war with the Third Reich, occupied or not, have received war reparations, by legal or atypical means, and that Greece has been excluded?

3. By what right does Germany violate International Law, common sense and universal morality, in its refusal to compensate Greece and its people for the crimes that the Third Reich committed as invaders and conquerors? namely, crimes committed against Greece and its people?

4. By what right does Germany forget that it owes its present status as a European democratic state to the decisive contribution of the Greek people through their struggle for the overthrow of the Nazi regime? Naturally, we do not want to believe that the German people don't enjoy the benefits of democracy and are nostalgic for the Hitler era.

5. By what right does today's Germany, given its intolerable behavior towards Greece, refuse to recognize the crimes against humanity it committed in our country? Why does it refuse to come to terms with the notion that whoever fails to remember the inhumanity, and doesn't contribute to the elimination of its consequences, is once again vulnerable to the painful risks of transmission of the causes that brought it about?"

17. To prevent the Bulgarians, who had taken over Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace, from having direct contact with Turkey, Germany held a strip of land in Western Thrace, parallel to the border with Turkey.

18. *"If the conquest of Crete by German paratroopers in May 1941 is the first instance in world military history of taking and holding enemy territory by air, the Cretans' titanic struggle for God and Country [Translator's note: *υπέρ βωμών και εστιών* in the original, from Aeschylus' *Perses*] against the ironclad enemies for ten whole days and nights with whatever means of defense in hand, is also a first as regards the battlefields of the First and Second World War, in that citizens were involved in a war against a regular military force"* (Emmanuel Tsirimonakis, *The National Resistance 1941-1944 in the Prefecture of Rethymno*, Editions Εστία, Athens 1985, p.13; in Greek).

19. We cite here the entire document of the German Prefecture of Chania:

"To the President of the Community of Kandanos

We forward below the order dated 9/11/1941 of the Military Commander of Crete and ask you to circulate it widely, affixing it on walls, etc. so that the citizens of your community and other stakeholders take note.

The Prefect H. Permanslager

Copier

(T.Σ.) signature

Chania 9/11/1941

Military commander of Crete – Directory of Internal Affairs

To the Minister Director General of Crete

«As concerns farming in Kandanos»

1. – In retaliation for the murder of 45 German soldiers, the village of Kandanos was destroyed at the end of June. At the same time its reconstruction was forbidden.

2. – This order is still in force. Rebuilding the center of the village, i.e., the housing complex situated on the road leading from Chania to Paleochora and on the exits from the village where there were two oil mills, is

not permitted. In fact you need to ensure that this part of the village must be demolished. This is warranted for reasons of public safety and so that the materials can be used elsewhere. The settlement of property rights on these tracts of land is a matter for the Greek authorities.

3. – Paragraph 2 is still in force with the following amendments. a) The small church that was not destroyed can be left standing together with its yard (buildings to be destroyed include the courthouse). b) The oil mill on the main street towards the city of Chania must not be demolished before deciding if it can be used to advantage. c) The gardens of the village of Kandanos can be cultivated but this should in no way lead to the repopulation of the village or even of a few houses. Therefore, visits to the village are henceforth permitted.

4. – Rebuilding the remaining neighborhoods is allowed. Building materials from destroyed houses may be used for this purpose and this is entrusted to the Greek authorities.

5. – Gardens and fields not cultivated by their owners must, under the direction of the Mayor, be responsibly used for farming.

6. – Within a week please let me know if it is possible to grind the next crop of olives in the oil mills located in the neighboring villages Plemeniana, Kakodiki, etc.

Head of the Directorate of Internal Affairs»

**20.** The Nazi propaganda had to work systematically trying all possible means to bend the unyielding determination of the Greek people, who dared oppose the fascist invasion of Mussolini in the epic struggle of 1940-41, and upset Hitler's strategic and military plans with its resistance in Macedonia and in the Battle of Crete. It was of no little significance that Greece, despite its small population, didn't buckle and attempted to repel the military colossi of Italy and Germany. They prevailed against the Italians. As for the German Pyrrhic victory, it was shattered by the resistance of the Greek people during the Occupation.

Goebbels' agents tried to suppress this unconquerable spirit of the Greeks. We have to admit that at high levels of government, they secured a certain cooperation. The dictatorial regime of August 4 offered them the means. They had only to find the Prime Minister and the members of his Cabinet. Here the Poles surpassed us. In Poland not one scoundrel could be found to become Prime Minister. In Greece there were three. Even so, cooperation was limited only to the highest levels of government.

**21.** Proselytizing was in the works long before the campaign against Greece. Radio broadcasts from Radio Berlin in the Greek language prepared the groundwork. There weren't any television sets at that time. The principal means of getting the news was the radio. So with their agents in Athens, the Germans created the secret radio station which from April 18, 1941, was transmitting venomous broadcasts, trying to terrorize the people.

After Athens was occupied by German troops in early May of 1941, the chief of the SS and the Gestapo, Himmler, came to Athens using as pretext a visit to the Acropolis (and there are indeed photographs attesting to this). The real purpose, however, was to direct the dissemination of Nazi propaganda and create Nazi organizations that would form special legions of Greek citizens to be sent to the Eastern Front to fight against the Soviet Union, or otherwise serve in the occupation army of some other country. Two secret Nazi organizations made preparations for this: the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst* = Security Service of the SS); and the AST (organized into Espionage, Propaganda and Counter-espionage sections).

These German organizations took on the creation of the following Nazi organizations by German and Greek Nazis or only by Greeks who embraced Nazi ideology: ΕΣΠΟ: National Socialist Patriotic Organization – ΟΕΔΕ: Organization of National Socialist Forces of Greece – ΕΦΕ: National Socialist Guard of Greece – ΕΚΕ: National Socialist Party of Greece – ΕΑΣΑΔ: National Rural Association for Anticommunist Action or The National Anticommunist Association Resistance Movement – ΜΠΟΥΝΤ: National Socialist Movement Union – ΕΕΕ: National Union of Greece – ΕΕΕ: Greek National Association – ΕΕΣ: Greek National-Socialists – ΕΕΣ: National Revolutionary Bodies – ΕΚΕ: National Socialist Party of Greece – ΕΜΕ: National Socialist Front of Greece – ΕΣΑΟ: National Socialist Anti-communist Organization – ΕΣΟ: National-Socialist

Organization – ΕΣ: Greek Army – ΕΤ: EVZONI Battalion or ΤΕ: Battalions of Evzones – ΕΦΓ: Society of Friends of Germany – ΕΦΧ: Union of Friends of Hitler – ΟΙΔΕ: Organization of Powerful Forces of Greece – ΟΠΝΕ: Organization of Pioneers of European Youth – ΡΕΟ: Radical National Organization – ΡΑ: Rumanian Legion or Legion V – ΡΟ: Radical Club – ΣΧΝ: Association of Hitler Youth – ΤΑ: Security Battalions.

**22.** Some Greek politicians, some parakeet journalists, even some historians proclaim that Germany's inhuman stand towards the enslaved Greek people was due to the formation and existence of guerrilla groups. The dismemberment of Greece, however, began from the first day of the occupation, before there was any resistance. This started weeks later and armed confrontation 3 months after that.

On June 2, 1941, the Badouva guerrilla group was formed in Crete. On June 7, 1941, the guerilla group "Psiloritis" was formed also in Crete. On June 15, 1941, the guerilla group "Psiloritis" of Rethymno was formed. In June of 1941, the guerilla group Petrakogiorgi was established. In June of 1941, the guerilla group "Kastania" appeared in Taygetos. In late June, 1941, in Othris, Thessaly, the guerilla group of Mitsos Tsardakas was formed. On July 10, 1941, the guerilla group "Odysseas Androutsos" was formed in Nigrita, Serres. On the same day, at Kilkis, the guerilla group "Athanasios Diakos" also appeared, and about two months later, on September 22, 1941, staged an ambush at the 62nd kilometer marker along the Thessalonica-Lagada highway. Three German soldiers fell victim to the attack.

On September 28 and 29, 1941, the first armed uprising in Europe took place in Drama and its environs. It was drowned in the blood of 5,000 victims. What is of note is that it came five months after the occupation of the country and the implementation of Hitler's plans to dismember it and exterminate the Greek People. Especially in Drama and throughout the Bulgarian-held areas, a well organized plan was implemented for the Bulgarization and ethnic cleansing of the region (details of which can be found in my book *National Resistance 1940-1945*).

In the course of events, many other groups also appeared that eventually joined ΕΔΕΣ and ΕΛΑΣ. Only from 1942 did the guerrillas begin to pose a threat to the Wehrmacht, which is why they sent in additional divisions to put them down.

– For anyone interested, my book *National Resistance 1940-1945* describes in detail all these forms of resistance.

**23.** "In our days it is generally accepted that military occupation is just a state of affairs, distinguished by the fact that it is temporary" (Fauchille, *Traité de droit International Public*, Paris 1921, T. Par. 1157 and 1159, Oppenheim, *International Law*, London 1926).

– "Occupied land never becomes the property of the occupier." (Hague Conference of 1907).

**24.** From the book *What is the NLF, and what does it want?* written by Dimitris Glinos and published in 1942.

**25.** Dimitrios I. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Editions Φόρμυξ, Athens 1949, page c.: in Greek.

**26.** *The occupation of our country had a peculiarity. All the countries of Europe were conquered. I don't know if there was something distinctive about us, but we found ourselves under a triple occupation. It was a cruel and inhuman occupation. The conqueror attempted to de-Hellenize our country, to split up our lands, to create a separate state within the Greek state, a small Vlach state. Despite the declarations of Hitler that he would behave somewhat differently toward the descendants of the ancient Greeks, his attempt to De-Hellenize Greece is evident. The milking of Greece's resources was total. Greece was required to pay not only for the housing and feeding the occupation forces, but also – and this historical fact is not well known – the Africa Corps as well."* (from the author's speech in the Greek Parliament on August 18, 1989).

**27.** "When finally the Germans entered Athens and in a few days completed the conquest of Greece, everyone felt

that the Occupation had begun. Embarrassment faded, emotions sombered, and a rebellious force began to appear amid the deluge of barbarism that accompanied every manifestation of life. [...] The plunder, food deprivation and terrible and merciless hunger that started to affect the entire population, the ferocity of the occupiers, their terrorism, the first patriot arrests -- these were the first indications of what life would be like under the swastika that flew over the Acropolis. Everyone started to experience the grim German and Italian occupation. What was going to happen now, what would be the fate of the country, the fate of everyone ...? It wouldn't take long, however, to get over these thoughts and contemplate reality more daringly" (Thanasis Kalogiannis, *Memories and Pages of the National Resistance*, Editions Κωσταράκης, Athens 1997, page 40; in Greek).

– "From April of 1941 to the year's end, they appropriated 26 billion drachmas as occupation expenses. Note that the nation's income in that same year came to 45 billion drachmas, and the government's budgeted income was 12 billion drachmas. Consequently, the Occupation Authorities took more than twice the budgeted income of the Government and almost two-thirds of the national income. And all this within the first eight months of the Occupation" (Manolis Glezos, *National Resistance 1940-1945*, Editions Στοχαστής, Athens, 2006, Volume 1, page 267; in Greek).

– It's characteristic that Mussolini said sarcastically that "the Germans took from the Greeks even their shoelaces" (M. Zekendorf, *Documents from the German Archives*, Editions Σύγχρονη Εποχή, Athens 1991, page 28; in Greek).

**28.** Dimitris J. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Editions Φόρμυξ, Athens, 1949, page 332; in Greek.

**29.** "The invaders and conquerors of Greece descended upon the country's productive capacity from the very first days of the occupation. [...] On May 31, 1941, i.e., the first day following the complete occupation of the country, the German financial service had prepared its report on the manner in which the conquerors would take over effective control of the most important industrial and agri-business enterprises, and ensure that they participate in them and/or 'buy them out' through various methods of coercion." (Manolis Glezos, *National Resistance 1940-1945*, Editions Στοχαστής, Athens 2005, page 275; in Greek).

– "German economic policy sought to drain as many financial resources from Greece as possible" (Rosetos Fakiolas, "Economic developments in the '30s and '40s", in the book by Hagen Fleischer, *Greece '30-'39*, Editions Καστανιώτης, Athens 2003, page 337; in Greek).

– "The theft of Greece's national wealth and its economic impoverishment under the invaders were accomplished by various means and systems, which characterize their ravenous bulimia and predatory attitude." (Dimitris J. Magriotis, *Greece's sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Editions Φόρμυξ, Athens, 1949, p.48; in Greek).

**30.** Vasilis Manoussakis, "The Greek middle class economy and the occupation forces (1941-1944)", in a special issue of the newspaper *Ελευθεροτυπία* entitled *German Reparations*, page 39; in Greek.

**31.** "The minerals, which were their most important objective from the start, were transported in significant quantities to Germany's and Italy's industries. In the 1941-44 period, for example, about 25,400 tons of chrome were transferred from Greece to Germany. In fact, in 1942, the year with the greatest amount of exports (about 13 tons), Greek chrome reached 40% of total imports of chrome by Germany" (*ibid.*, p.40).

– "The occupiers removed all the basic raw materials to the extent that it was impossible for production to proceed" (Angelos Angelopoulos, *From the Occupation to the Civil War*, Editions Παρουσία, Athens 1994, page 27; in Greek).

– "Thus the basic principle adopted by the financial management of the occupiers was the greatest possible expropriation and use of the Greek resources they needed" (Athanasios Kalafatis, "The economic disaster in Greece and the legitimate demands for reparations," *Black Bible*, Athens 2006, page 15; in Greek).

**32.** "The country's foreign trade came under the absolute control of the occupiers. The state monopoly and state-owned enterprises were also placed under their control. The main commercial and industrial enterprises were forced to cede 51% of their shares. The German and Italian monopolies either penetrated the Greek enterprises or



expanded their participation in them. The Hitlerites moved whole factories to Germany. They devoted especial attention to the exploitation of mineral wealth, especially those minerals that they needed in their war industry. The measures taken by the occupier completely disrupted the Greek economy" (Short History of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG), Volume 1: 1918-1949, published by the Central Committee of the CPG, page 156; in Greek).

33. T. M Iliadakis, *Reparations and the German Occupation Loan*, Editions Δετοράκη, Athens 1997, pages 99-100; in Greek.

34. "They strut in any Greek commercial, industrial or banking enterprise with a "that's what I want" attitude, grabbing 51% of the shares, and enslaving now and forever – or so they think -- the work of the Greek People" (Dimitris Glinos, *What is the NLF and what does it Want*, First edition of 1942, reprinted in 1944 Editions, Πήγας; in Greek).

– "The main commercial and industrial enterprises were forced to cede 51% of their shares" (*Short History of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE)*, Volume 1, 1918-1949, page 369; in Greek).

35. "The German financial agents go back and forth to and from Greece, do research, study its national economy and then plan, schedule, and organize the way in which they'll absorb whatever the Greeks will produce from their factories, their lands, and their country's subsoil" (Manolis Glezos, *National Resistance 1940-1945*, Editions Στοχαστής, Athens 2005, page 277; in Greek).

36. "The first round of requisitions (April 30, 1941) includes Greek Gunpowder and Cartridge Company, Incorporated, with its factories; tire company ETHEL; Wine and Spirits Corporation; Papapetros Tobacco Trading Company; Zephyr Oxygen and Acetylene Production Corporation; Vassiliadis Shipyards; Rayon Works ETMA; Glavanis Industrial Engineering Corporation; Rodiris-Strouboulis Industrial Engineering; Dritsas N. Machine Shop; and Kuppas Machine Shop" [Vassilis Manoussakis, "The Greek middle class economy and the occupying powers (1941-1944)", in a special issue of the newspaper *Ελευθεροτυπία* titled *German Compensations*, p.41].

37. "Article 52. Requisitions of goods and services may not be requested by the Communities or their residents except for the needs of the army of occupation. Requisitions must be proportionate to the economic wherewithal of the Country" ("Provisions of the sixth Hague Convention of October 18, 1907", from the book by Dimitrios J. Magriotis, *Greece's sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Editions Φόρμυξ, Athens, 1949, page 22; in Greek).

– "Because they needed money in order to feed the troops they had here, and to resupply their forces in North Africa, the Germans decided to take it from our small impoverished country" [...] (Angelos Angelopoulos, *From Occupation to the Civil War*, Editions Παρουσία, Athens 1994, page 26; in Greek).

38. It was the 12th Field Army, commanded by Wilhelm von Liszt, and was made up of 32 divisions, 13 of which were infantry, each one of which had a strength of 16,859 men, thus a total of 219,167; and 19 motorized divisions, each with a strength of 14,029, for a total of 266,551. Grand total: 485,718.

To this total one should add the 650 planes of the air forces that accompanied the field army.

39. "The Germans, however, to avoid being depicted as food extortionists, put into obligatory circulation special banknotes, the Occupation Mark (*Reichs Kredit Kassenscheine*). They were printed and put into circulation in unlimited numbers, and distributed without any controls. With this special Mark, they could buy everything they needed without regard for the needs of the population. So with this phony currency, they covered under a legalistic veneer the theft of goods from our occupied country" (Dimitrios J. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Editions Φόρμυξ, Athens, 1949, in Greek).

- "At first they tried to trick us with their printed papers, their Occupation marks and liras, pretending to pay us for whatever they bought. But they were simply stealing: For this paper had no exchange value inside Germany and Italy." (Dimitris Glinos, *What is the NLF and what does it want?*, Editions Πήγας, Athens 1944, page 25;

in Greek).

– "At the same time, the Germans issue occupation marks (*Reichs Kredit Kassenscheine*); and the Italians, paper currency called "Mediterranean drachma". With these, they drink, eat, and buy whatever they find" (K. Cholevas, *War Compensations*, Editions Πελασγός, Athens 1995, page 24; in Greek).

– «As soon as it invaded, the enemy army used occupation banknotes with which it attacked existing reserves, [comma added] in particular those found in commercial stores» (Dimitris Gatopoulos, *History of the Occupation*, Editions Μέλισσα, Athens 1955, p. 393; in Greek).

– «As soon as the army of occupation entered Greece, the occupation authorities circulated a special banknote issued by officers of a variety of units of their army» (P.B. Dertilis, «What do the Germans owe to us », *Journal Σπουδαί*; in Greek).

– We reproduce here pps. 1-2 of report of J. Lambroukos.

**40.** "A typical example is that of a barber in Athens in the first days of the occupation, who after giving a German a haircut, preferred not to be paid at all rather than have to give 10 drachmas back in change, knowing he'd be cheated out of the 10 drachmas. Such examples would not have been hard to find at the time" [Vasilis Manousakis, "The Greek middle class economy and the occupation forces (1941-1944)", in a special issue of the newspaper *Ελευθεροτυπία* entitled *German Compensations*, page 42; in Greek].

**41.** "The German Occupation Authorities officially put into circulation German occupation marks with a note of the Chief of the General Staff to the temporary Governor of the Bank of Greece, K. Negroponte, on April 29, 1941. At first an occupation mark corresponded to 50 drachmas, and from June 23, 1941, to 60 drachmas. Concurrently, the Italian Occupation Authorities unofficially placed in circulation the lira and the Mediterranean drachma, the "Cassa Mediterranea di Credito". [...] Circulating along with this currency were Bulgarian leva and Albanian francs. All these circulated along with the Greek drachma. [...] This monetary chaos frightened both the Tsolakoglou government and the occupation authorities. After pressure from the former, in July of 1941, an agreement was reached to withdraw from circulation the occupation marks and the Mediterranean drachmas (Circular 156308/18 July, 1941 of the Finance Ministry). [...] Just how many such notes had been released into circulation by the occupation authorities is unknown. What is known is that those that were presented for exchange amounted to 530,824 English pounds for German Marks, and 574,081 English gold pounds for the Mediterranean drachmas" (Tasos M. Iliadakis, *Reparations and the German Occupation Loan*, Editions Δετοράκη, Athens 1997 pages 84-86); in Greek. ,

– "Also, the German and Italian Occupation currency was withdrawn from circulation, for which the Occupation Authorities charged Greece 10 billion drachmas" (Dimitris Gatopoulos, *History of the Occupation*, Editions Μέλισσα, Athens 1955, page 397).

– See also: • Foreign Ministry File – *Report of the Governor of the Bank of Greece*, pages 26-27 • Athanasios Sbarounis, *Δαπάναι*, pages 30-31 • Athanasios Sbarounis, *Μελέται*, pages 24-26 • Solon Grigoriadis *History of Modern Greece 1941-1967*, Editions Καπόπουλος, Athens 1973, vol. 1, page 169; in Greek • P. Dertilis, *What the Germans owe us*, page 1009 • P. Dertilis, *The Public Debt*, page 126.

– Please see footnote 39 above for the report of J. Lambroukos.

**42.** "The only things, however, that were left as Greek material reality, were the warships that escaped Greece [...] and the gold of the Bank of Greece. The latter had been transferred from Crete at the start of the battle, in a manner that could be described as dramatic. From the Bank's branch in Heraklion [...] to a small English tugboat, the "Salvia", bound for Suda Bay [...] where the English cruiser "Dido" awaited [...]. From the cruiser, which arrived on May 22, it was stored in the Branch of the National Bank in Egypt, in Alexandria, for a very short while. But the South African Government agreed to keep the gold in its vaults for the remainder of the war " (Solon Grigoriadis, *History of Modern Greece 1941-1967*, Editions Καπόπουλος, Athens 1973, vol. 1, pages 88 and 94; in Greek).

– Manolis Glezos, "The robbery of the currencies" in his book *National Resistance 1940-1945*, Editions Στοχαστής, Athens 2006, pages 281-283; in Greek.

– Please see footnote 39 above for the report of J. Lambroukos.

**43.** "On March 14, 1942, the Fiscal Conference of Rome ends after signing of a series of agreements that mostly

concerned the war economy. [...] The agreement pertaining to Greece was attended and signed by the plenipotentiaries of Italy and Germany to Greece, Gizi and Altenburg respectively. In Greece the agreement was announced nine days later by Altenburg via Note Verbale 160/23 March 1942. The Italian representative did so with his Note 04/6406/461/23 March, 1942. In turn, the Greek Finance Minister notifies and instructs the Bank of Greece to comply with the German representative's Note Verbale. – The Greek Government is obliged to pay monthly occupation expenses of 1.5 billion drachmas, an amount which will be divided equally between the two Occupying Powers (Article 3). – Withdrawals from the Bank of Greece over and above this amount will be charged to the governments of Germany and Italy in drachmas and without interest (Article 3). – Such supernumerary amounts will be returned later (Article 4). – The agreement is valid retroactively from January 1, 1942 (Article 5)" (Tasos M. Iliadakis, *Reparations and the German occupation loan*, Editions Δετοράκη, Athens 1997, page 115; in Greek).

– "Particular attention should however be paid to the obligation of Germany to repay in full the so-called "compulsory occupation loan", which the puppet government of occupied Greece had been ordered to issue to Germany" (George-Alexander Magakis, "Solution to the problem of reparations. Legal and moral debt", *Black Bible*, Athens 2006; in Greek).

– "In order to reconcile this aim with the need to fund their military forces in the country, they proceeded with the adoption of the compulsory occupation loan in March, 1942" (Anthony Bredimas "The occupation loan: An alternative prospect of vindication" *Νομικό Βήμα*, September 2010, vol. 58, issue 7, page 1612; in Greek).

**44.** "In addition, they concocted the method of borrowing. [...] More specifically, they agreed upon the amounts that the occupation authorities would get directly from the Bank of Greece, and if these surpassed the occupation costs they would take them in the form of a loan, the terms of which would be arranged later (as envisaged in the Debt Treaty) . The relevant accounts would be charged in Marks, but calculated in drachmas, whose value would be indexed to account for the inflation [...] Some time before the end of the war, the capital on the loan amounted to 38 million gold pounds. At the end of the war this figure had reached 45 million gold pounds or \$4.06 billion (U.S.). Germany owed \$3.5 billion (U.S.) of this (John K. Cholevas, *War Compensations*, Editions Πελασγός, Athens 1995, page 23; in Greek).

– "Even more provocative is the refusal of the German State to repay the so-called 'occupation loan.' In essence we refer to the \$4.05 billion U.S. at the time (1938 market value) stolen by the occupation forces. Of this amount that the Germans and Italians took from the Bank of Greece, the larger part, over \$ 3.5 billion, was the share of Germany." (Mitsos Kostopoulos, *A War that has not yet Ended*, Editions Καστανιώτης, Athens 1998 pages 29-30; in Greek).

– "Not only did Hitler acknowledge the loan that the Third Reich had taken from the Bank of Greece, he had given the relevant order to commence its repayment." (Xenophon Zolotas, in an interview in the newspaper, *Ελευθερος Τύπος*, August 17, 1995; in Greek).

– "According to the calculations of the then German representative to the Bank of Greece, Nestler, the outstanding debt due to this loan amounted to 38 million gold pounds several months before the end of the war. This is the amount alluded to by Sp. Chatzikiriakos, who during the years of occupation served as Governor of the Bank of Greece, . [...] So, if one counts in the remaining months until the end of the war – even if one accepts the unrealistic calculations of the German authorities – the Occupation Loan would have reached at least 45 million gold pounds, equivalent to 4.05 billion dollars (U.S.). According to the manner in which it was divided by the Bank of Greece, the share of Germany is about \$3.5 billion (U.S.)" (Angelos Angelopoulos, *From the Occupation to the Civil War*, Editions Παρουσία, Athens 1994, pages 31-32; in Greek).

– See also what Savvas P. Spentzas has written in his paper *Taxation and Public Debt*, where he states: "Irrefutable proof of the debt remains: the Treaty of Rome of 1942; the withdrawals from the Bank of Greece; the separate entries in special ledgers kept by the Bank of Greece, separate from those detailing costs to maintain the occupation forces" (page 127).

**45.** "The consequences of the four-year enemy occupation on the agricultural economy of our country were catastrophic. [...] But besides severing our territory, other reasons why agricultural production was reduced significantly during the occupation were the following: a) seizure of products, either directly by the occupation

forces, or indirectly, i.e. through measures leading to the sequestration or the collection of products." (Dimitris I. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Editions Φόρμυζ, Athens, 1949, page 47; in Greek).

**46.** "The invaders applied the method of requisitioning with cruelty and inhumanely in a multitude of cases, only a few of which are noted here. For example, there were requisitions of houses, shops, factories, vehicles, hotels, schools, hospitals, buildings, resorts, furniture, utensils, services, raw materials, etc." (D. I. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Athens 1949, page 40; in Greek).

- For a typical example of the form of receipts used in the practice of requisitioning, refer to pages 254-255 of the Annex of the original 2012 edition of this book.

**7.** "Besides causing the breakdown of its economy and defensive capabilities, the invaders robbed and looted the wealth of the country, its means of production, and whatever else they could find. Their frenzy was particularly obvious in the manner in which they ripped off and ravaged the stockpiles they found as soon as they entered our country" (Mitsos Kostopoulos, *A War that has not yet Ended*, Editions Καστανιώτης, Athens 1998, page 144; in Greek).

- "The principles of International Law dictate that, in order to be legitimate, 'seizures' must address direct and unavoidable needs of the army of occupation and be proportional to the resources of the occupied country. Otherwise they are considered unlawful. From the point of view of the law, the seemingly lawful requisition of goods or objects used not for the direct needs of the occupying or passing army but either for their future needs or for armies stationed elsewhere are thought of as common snatching and looting. Requisition of raw materials and more generally objects that are of no immediate service to the army is similarly forbidden. In contrast, the aforementioned and other evidence demonstrates that as soon as they entered Greece, the invaders requisitioned and seized huge stockpiles of foodstuffs and goods found in custom warehouses awaiting clearance or elsewhere and belonging to private citizens. Taking these away from the people resulted in their literal starvation. The invaders adopted this routine for the duration of the occupation entirely disregarding the catastrophic consequences of their actions". D. I. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Athens 1949, page 40; in Greek).

**48.** Vasilis C. Petrakos, in the book *The antiquities of Greece during the War 1940-1044*, writes about Wrede: "In 1942, he (Wrede) published in the journal *Jahrbuch der National-Sozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiter-Partei* (4, 1942, 49-66) his diary during the days of war against Germany (6-27 April, 1941). I quote two extracts from this diary: "Sunday, April 6. At 1:30 a.m., I was awakened by an official of the Embassy who asked me to go with him to the German Ambassador. 'The time has come', he says on the way there; 'the Ambassador has been instructed to issue a statement at 5:20 a.m. to the Greek government that German troops are invading Greece.' [...] Holding a watch in one hand, and a telephone receiver in the other, I spent the twenty minutes till 5:20. Now is the time, it's now that the Ambassador reaches Korizis. In a few minutes, I woke up the four sector heads that I was able to contact by phone, and passed on the agreed-upon message: 'Don't miss the bus' [Verpasst den Omnibus nicht]. Next, Wrede describes what impressed him most in the days that followed; the arrest of the Germans, their confinement, their relations with the Greek authorities, the gradual collapse of the Front. The newspaper reports disturbed him, the insults against Germany and the Führer, the lies about unfolding events. The British and the Greeks hide the unpleasant facts in order to keep morale high. He's afraid of being deported and absent from Athens when the German troops arrive. On April 27, on Sunday, however, everything goes according to his wishes: An employee comes at 2:30 and tells us that German forces are advancing towards the Acropolis.

- They would raise the German flag there, of course. I run up to the top floor, to our observation post. Indeed! At the pole, on the Acropolis, flies the radiant red flag of the Reich. The cry 'The swastika is on the Acropolis' [Die Hakenkreuzfahne auf der Akropolis] resonates at home."

- Also see Mark Mazower, *In Hitler's Greece*, Editions Αλεξανδρεία, Athens 1994, page 33; in Greek.

- Also see Manolis Glezos' book, *National Resistance 1940-1945*, Editions Στοχαστής, Athens 2006, pages 282-287.

– Also see the minutes of the conference held at the University of Economics and organized by ΕΣΔΟΓΕ and the University itself in Athens, on December 2-4, 2005.

**49.** – *"War criminals are persons, whatever their rank in the military or civilian hierarchy, who, when preparing for or conducting war, militarily, politically, economically or industrially, and in the exercise of their official duties, commit acts that contravene: a) the laws and customs of normal war; b) the principles of criminal law, generally observed by civilized nations. Similarly accountable are those who caused, ordered, favored, counseled or combined such acts, or had knowledge that such acts would be carried out, and having the duty and means to prevent them, failed to do so"* [Sheldon Glaeck, professor of Criminal Law and Criminology of Harvard University, *Justice and War Criminals* (The American Mercury), March, 1945].

– War crimes are "acts committed in wartime that violate the rules of war, either formal or internationally recognized" (Sesi Chourst, Chairman of the U.S. Committee of Inquiry on War Crimes).

– In the Nuremberg trial, the defense for the accused war criminals tried to present the indictments as unfair, claiming that the laws were passed after the acts took place. Specifically, the defense counsel, Hermann Jahreiss, stressed: *"The current trial, which according to the Bill of Indictment must try the defendants for war crimes, for crimes against peace, and for crimes against humanity, is not based on the body of international law, which has existed up to today, but on the judicial provisions of a new law, which was enacted after the alleged acts by the accused. This is contrary to the inviolate jurisprudence in force all over the world."* To this view, the Soviet prosecutor Roman A. Rudenko objected: *"The agreement of November 2, 1943, between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union clearly states that German officers and soldiers as well as the officials of Nazi organizations are responsible for the crimes, murders and executions they perpetrate"* (data from the special edition of *Ελευθεροτυπία* newspaper entitled *The Nuremberg Trial*, Athens 2011, pages 55-57).

– The crimes committed by Hitler, the officials of the Third Reich and the German army in the Second World War rely on the laws of The Hague Conference of 1907, i.e., the laws preceded the acts.

**50.** *"Famine was a rare occurrence, affecting only Greece during the first year of the occupation, and the Netherlands over the last"* (Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire*, Editions Αλεξάνδρεια, Athens 2008, page 262).

– *"Only in the former Soviet Union and parts of Yugoslavia and Greece did malnutrition spread widely, threatening mass deaths from starvation [...]. So German policy was successful in insulating its people from demographic destruction and in bringing it onto those whom it feared and scorned the most."*

**51.** – Hagen Fleischer limits the number to 100,000, and as for the cause, he mentions many additional factors. He writes: *"[...] the number of victims of starvation may have not exceeded 100,000. [...] Besides, to overestimate the count -even for a "good" cause- would only serve to prostitute the truth. [...] Of course, without the invasion of the Axis powers and the occupation, Greece would not have suffered this frightening experience. But on the other hand, it would be simplistic to ascribe blame solely to the bad will of the three occupying powers, of which the Germans in particular are accused of systematic genocide. In fact, numerous factors contributed to the turn of events "* (*Crown and Swastika*, Editions Παπαζήσης, Athens 1995, vol. 1, page 196; in Greek).

– D. Magriotis estimates them at 300,000 (*Greece's Sacrifices in World War II*, *ibid*, page 71).

– Spyros G. Gasparinatos records 300,000 of them (*The Occupation*, Ed. Σιδέρης, Athens 1998, vol. 1, page 59; in Greek).

– G. Vichos reports a number of 415,000 for all losses (*War Report and Greece's Sacrifices*, Athens 1946, page 46).

– S. Grigoriadis tallies the losses at 405,000 (*History of Modern Greece*, Editions Καπόπουλος, Athens 1973, vol. 2, p 351; in Greek).

– S G. Popolanos estimates them at 490,000 (*Study on the Direct Food Health Assistance and Reconstruction of Greece*, Alexandria, 1944, p.45).

– K. Doxiadis believes that *"the correct estimate exceeds 500,000 deaths, i.e. 7.7% of the population"* (*Greece's Sacrifices in World War II*, Editions Γραφείο Ανοικοδομήσεως, Athens 1946, pages 36-37; in Greek).

–Tassos Iliadakis reports 558,000 deaths (*Reparations and the German Occupation Loan*, Editions Δετοράκη, Athens 1997, page 137; in Greek).

– *History of the National Resistance* (Ed. Αυλός, Athens 1979, page 303; in Greek) writes: "How many truly died of starvation during the terrible famine in the winter of '41-'42? The actual number of victims of starvation is unknown, but it is estimated to reach around 300,000 for the Athens-Piraeus region".

–Thanasis Hadzis mentions the number 300,000 (*The Victorious Revolution that was Lost*, Editions Παπαζήσης, Athens 1977, page 148; in Greek).

– Mark Mazower writes: "The number 500,000 of deaths reported by the BBC for the winter of 1941-42 was clearly excessive. For the entire period of the occupation, however, the final death toll from starvation may be not too far off that number. The Red Cross, which conducted its own inquiry, estimated that about 250,000 people had died directly or indirectly from the famine between 1941 and 1943" (*In Hitler's Greece*, Editions Αλεξάνδρεια, Athens 1994, page 67; in Greek).

– Notis I. Lapatas writes: "From September, 1941, up to and including March, 1942, 300,000 people died of starvation in Athens, the surrounding areas, and Piraeus alone." (*When Greece Was Mourning Greeks*, published by the author, Athens 1985, page 25).

– Peter Roussos writes: "Greece led all the occupied countries in this war with the greatest number of victims from starvation. The numbers alluded to from time to time range between 250,000 and 650,000 for the Athens-Piraeus area alone" (*The Long Five-Year Period*, Editions Σύγχρονη Εποχή, Athens 1976, vol. 1, page 83; in Greek).

## 52. See also:

a) Ch. Zarokostas, *Rupel*, Editions Γαλαξίας, Athens 1965, pages 23-24; in Greek.

b) Archives of the Army General Staff, *Fighting in Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace*, 1941, page 134.

c) When I published the fact of the execution of the prisoner of war, Sergeant Dimitrios Itsios, in my book, *National Resistance 1940-1945*, a Greek immigrant in Germany acted of his own accord. He searched for and located the officer, but he had passed away. In his home, he found pictures of the executed Dimitrios Itsios standing outside the fortress of Omorfoplagia; they are published in the book *The Battle of the Fortresses, 6-10 April 1941*, Editions Μουσείο Φωτογραφίας "Χρήστος Καλεμκέρης" of the municipality of Kalamaria; in Greek.

d) The book *The Battle of the Fortresses*, *ibid*, Chapter 3, paragraph 6, pages 48-51.

e) "There was no lack of murders of prisoners due to senseless shots of nearby guards inside the camp, without any reason" (Filotas Avramidis, *The Battle of Crete – Personal Recollections*, Naoussa 1998, page 19).

**53.** "The sacrifice of Matthew Potagas was the first act of resistance in occupied Greece, since it occurred on May 2, 1941; and it was the first of its kind in occupied Europe, since similar sacrifices had not been reported as yet in any other country of Europe. The 1st German SS Panzer division "Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler" moved from the region of Ioannina, to Agrinio and Messolonghi and taking off from the western side of mainland Greece captured Patras in the early evening on April 26, 1941. From there, it advanced southwards towards Kalamata. Part of its forces, having arrived at Pyrgos, set out to capture Tripoli. The sad news spread quickly. A group of seven young men from Vitina couldn't tolerate the Nazi invasion, and every day they'd meet to discuss how to resist the invaders. One of them was Matthew Lambros Potagas. In the last three days before he was killed, Matthew had disappeared not only from his friends, but from his home as well. Later, it was discovered that he had taken his father's gun and a quantity of dynamite he found in a marble quarry, and placed the explosives on the Koutroubi Bridge that ran along the road passing outside of Vitina. Nobody knows what Potagas was planning to do. What is known first hand by several witnesses is that when the column of tanks arrived at the bridge at noon on May 2, 1941, Matthew Potagas popped out unarmed in the middle of the road, raised his hand and shouted: **'Stop. You're not going to enslave us. I'm here alone. But all of Greece is right behind me.'** Surprised, the commander of the tanks stopped the convoy and asked his interpreter what the boy said. When the interpreter obliged, the commander killed Potagas with his automatic weapon. But the Nazi officer wasn't satisfied with murder. He ordered his soldiers to bash in the head of the lad who had dared to stand his ground against the Third Reich and its army. In the Nazi concept of the war, heads that generate notions of resistance should be crushed, squashed, eliminated. In the view of Matthew L. Potagas, the 17-year old student of the Varvakeion High School from Vitina, resistance against the invader was a supreme duty towards human values, history, humanity and the

*Greek concept of resistance, leading him to sacrifice his life" (Manolis Glezos National Resistance 1940-1945, Editions Στοχαστής, Athens 2006, pages 339-341; in Greek).*

**54.** See Kyriakos Tsakiris' text "Exiles in Sikinos" in Manolis Glezos' book *Conscience of Stony Earth - Cycladic Writings*, Editions Τυπωθήτω - George Dardanos, Athens 1997, pages 104-106, in Greek.

**55.** See M. Karageorgi's text "Exiles in Kimolos," *ibid*, pages 158-177.

**56.** "In Gavdos there are 25 communists in exile. Seven of them escaped on May 30, 1941. They are: Dimitris Vladas; Leonidas Stringos (alternate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party); Mark Vafiadis (who later became head of ΔΣΕ); Polidoros Daniilidis; Michael Klianis; George Kontokotsos; and John Lathouras" (Manolis Glezos *National Resistance 1940-1945*, Editions Στοχαστής, Athens 2006, page 465; in Greek).

**57.** "On April 18, 1941, 17 communists were freed from the Sanatorium at Asvestochori with the help of armed communists" (*ibid*, page 461).

– See also: a) Th. Hadzis, *The Victorious Revolution that was Lost*, Editions Παπαζήσης, Athens 1977, pages 61-62; in Greek; b) Vassilis Tsoukalidis, *A Forgotten History*, Athens 1981, page 26; in Greek.

**58.** Between May 10 and May 18, 1941, 130 escaped from Folegandros. Of these: • A group of twelve left for Crete. Despite the group's arrest, they escape and took active part in the Battle of Crete. • Another group of 8 sick persons, left via Milos and arrived in Piraeus. • The rest, some eighty men, escaped and came to Athens. (Data from Manolis Glezos' book, *ibid*. page 461)

– About the communists' escape from Folegandros, see also:

a) Archives of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), *File 1 - Data of Pandelis Karagitsis*. b) Central Committee of the Communist Party (KKE), *Short History of the Communist Party*, Editions Σύγχρονη Εποχή, Athens 1988, page 158; in Greek. c) Peter Roussos, *The Long Five-year Period*, Editions Σύγχρονη Εποχή, Athens 1976, page 54; in Greek. d) Th. Hadzis, *The Victorious Revolution that was Lost*, Editions Παπαζήσης, Athens 1977, pages 62-63. e) George Trikalinos, *Stoking the Cinders of Memory*, Editions. Σύγχρονη Εποχή, Athens 1998, pages 80-89; in Greek. f) Nick and Argyro Kokovli, *There was no other way*, Editions Πολύπτυχο, Athens 2002, pages 40-41; in Greek. g) Panos Dimitriou, *De Profundis*, Editions Θεμέλιο, Athens 1997, pages 80-85; in Greek. h) Katy Zevgou, *With Yannis Zevgos in the Revolutionary Movement*, Editions Ωκεανίδα, Athens 1980, page 197; in Greek.

**59.** "Communists held prisoner, mainly in Akronafplia, and suffering from tuberculosis, had been transferred to the Petra Sanatorium in Katerini (Pieria). In May of 1942, there were about 40 prisoners at the Sanatorium, when the Macedonian Bureau of the CPG reached the decision to free them. Mark Vafiadis, Simos Kerasidis, Vasilis Tsoukalidis, with the help of a constable of the guard, accomplished this on June 14-15, 1942. Fifteen were freed". (Manolis Glezos, *ibid*, page 469).

**60.** See related book by Dim. I. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Crimes of the Occupation*, Athens 1944, pages 65-68; in Greek.

**61.** Under Ruling No. 16/1946 of the Greek National Office for War Criminals, the Germans executed more than 2,000 prisoners of war in Crete shortly after the island's capture.

- See also:

a) Manolis Glezos' "Martyrology" in a special edition of the Greek National Council for War Reparations Claims Against Germany (ΕΣΔΟΓΕ), entitled *Black Bible*, Athens 2006, page 62.

b) Vaios Kalogrias, "Retaliation of the German occupation authorities in Greece 1941-1944", in a special edition of the newspaper *Ελευθεροτυπία* entitled *German Reparations*, pages 110-112.

**62.** See also:

a) Adonis Floudzis, 1) *Camp Larissa - Trikala 1941-1944*, Ed. Παπαζήσης, Athens 1978; in Greek, 2) *Akronafplia and Akronafpliotas 1937-1943*, Editions Θεμέλιο, Athens 1979; in Greek, 3) *Executed and Prisoners during the Occupation years 1941-1944*, Editions Φιλippότης, Athens 1987; in Greek, 4) Haidari: *Castle and Altar of the National Resistance*, Editions Παπαζήσης, Athens 1986; in Greek.

b) Manolis Glezos, "The Nazi concentration camps" in a special edition of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, entitled *Black Bible*, Athens 2006, pages 92-97; in Greek.

**63.** "Especially dreadful were the losses of Greek nationals of Jewish origin. Of the 77,000 who lived in Greece (including the Dodecanese islands) at the beginning of the Occupation, 69,000 were arrested by the Nazis and were sent to death camps, except for a few, who were executed here in Greece. Of this number, only 2,000 returned. The approximate 8,000 who were not arrested had been hidden and protected by the Greek population in various ways. About 1,000 were smuggled to the Middle East, and 650 joined and actively participated in the National Resistance. What is remarkable is that on Zante Island, 275 were saved: they had not been arrested thanks to the protection given them by the residents of Zante, including Metropolitan Chrysostomos, the Bishop of Zante." (Manolis Glezos, *National Resistance 1940-1945*, Editions Θεμέλιο, Athens 2006, page 299; in Greek).

– See also:

a) Dim. J. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Crimes of the Occupation*, Athens 1949, pages 167-171.

b) Hagen Fleischer, *Crown and Swastika*, Editions Παπαζήσης, Athens 1995, vol. 2, pages 296-348; in Greek.

c) Michael Matsas, article in *Chronicles* magazine, an organ of the Central Jewish Council of Greece, Issue 59, September 1986.

d) Publications of the Church of Greece, *Memories and Testimonies from the 40's and the Occupation*, Athens 2000, pages 376-377.

e) Special edition of the newspaper *Ελευθεροτυπία* entitled *The Nuremberg Trial*, Athens 2011, pages 132-136.

– "According to ascertained calculations, the Bulgarians took 40,000 innocent civilians prisoner; the Italians, 10,000; the Germans 70,000 Greek nationals, of whom 60,000 were Jews. The total number of Greek citizens detained by the invading occupiers came to 120,000 people" (Dim. J. Magriotis, *Greece's Sacrifices and Crimes of the Occupation*, Athens 1949, page 68).

**64.** "It should also be mentioned that the demographic slump observed during this time of absolute pessimism, expressed itself through a remarkable reduction of birth rates nine months later" (Maria Kavala, *History of Modern Hellenism 1770-2000*, Editions Ελληνικά Γράμματα, Athens 2004, page 51; in Greek).

– Dim. J. Magriotis uses the term "crime of genocide" to characterize the "starvation of the Greek people during the enemy occupation" and writes: "From the first days of the Occupation, i.e., from May, 1941, a lack of food items necessary for the sustenance of the Greek people began to appear. Food requisitioning, seizures, and the various restrictive measures put in place, along with the liberal printing of banknotes by the occupiers, to facilitate the purchase and shipment abroad of large amounts of existing stocks of food and various goods, which were literally stolen. Thus the people were deprived of every economic means for their survival. With these measures the sources of production and market supply were killed off. All of this resulted in even more misery for the population. Staple food items, such as meat, milk, fish, butter, oil, etc., were taken by the occupiers with their vehicles directly from the place where they were produced and transferred to their warehouses. Shops selling food to the public were now empty and for the most part closed. Restaurants stopped cooking. Fuel depots, stopped selling fuel, both fluid and solid, due to the lack of supply. Obtaining even the most basic foodstuffs was the most difficult and complex problem. A real feat was finding a few pounds of wheat, or beans, or bread. [...] It was especially common to see children wandering hungry, in rags and barefoot, rummaging for leftover food in trashcans to satisfy their hunger. Bones, fruit rinds, and even garbage were the only food many people had until the day that starvation brought death. People started fainting on the sidewalks from hunger. The weakest constitutions gradually succumbed to death from starvation" (*Greece's Sacrifices and Occupation Crimes*, Athens 1949, pages 68-69).

**65.** "The fact that the population in Greece was 7,344,860 people in 1940, and had fallen to 6,805,000 in 1944, is



also remarkable" (Manolis Glezos, "Sacrifices of the Greek people," *Black Bible*, Editions ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, page 126; in Greek).

List of the Greek People's losses in World War II:

– Killed in the war of aggression against Greece:

• Battles of 1940-1941	13,327	
• From bombings	7,120	
• From torpedoing	3,500	
• Killed in the Middle East	1,100	
• In battles of the Resistance	20,650	Total 45,697
- Killed from executions	56,225	
- Hostages killed	105,000	Total 161,225
- Deaths from starvation	600,000	
- From low birth rates	300,000	Total 900,000
Grand Total	1,106,922	1,106,922

(Data, *ibid.* page 126.)

**66.** "Acting in accordance with the notorious doctrine of "collective responsibility", they destroyed entire villages and without having issued relevant court decisions, arbitrarily sent hundreds of civilians to the firing squad" (Vaios Kalogrias, "Retaliation of the German occupation authorities in Greece 1941-1944" in the special edition of the newspaper *Ελευθεροτυπία* entitled *German Restitutions*, Athens 2011, page 112).

**67.** "Settling Germany's debt problems is a precondition for the stabilization of friendship between the peoples of Greece and Germany, the bedrock of a United Europe, a necessary agreement for the consolidation of Peace" (Manolis Glezos "We do not beg. We demand!", in the special edition of the Greek National Council for War Reparations Claims Against Germany entitled *The Black Bible of the Occupation*, Athens 2006, page 45).

– On February 11, 1945, the leaders of the three Great Powers (USA, UK, USSR) met in Yalta and issued their homonymous declaration about Liberated Europe, while committing themselves to the restoration of democracy in Europe. They declared that "Nazi Germany is doomed." Just fifteen days later, Josef Goebbels responded with an article revealing Nazi views in the magazine *Das Reich* entitled "Das Jahr 2000". In this article, the Propaganda Minister of the Third Reich imagines what the world would be like 55 years later in the year 2000, and writes: "Germany will not be under enemy occupation in 2000. The German nation will be the spiritual leader of civilized humanity. We are earning that right in this war. This global conflict with our enemies will remain only a bad dream in people's memory. Our children and their children will erect monuments to their fathers and mothers for the hardships they suffered, for the stoic dedication with which they withstood everything, for the bravery they displayed, for the heroism with which they fought, for the loyalty they displayed to their Führer and to his ideals in difficult times. Our hopes will be realized in their own world, and our ideals will become a reality."

– Today we Greeks wonder: "Yes, Nazism was defeated, but was Nazi theory?" "Yes, Nazi Germany was defeated. But the German nation is the economic and political leader of Europe" "The Greek People suffered hell on earth during the Occupation because of Nazi atrocities. But they fought back hard and contributed to the Third Reich's defeat, with the epic war of 1940-41 and the epic National Resistance, and in this manner helped Germany avoid finding itself today under a Nazi regime. Could this be the reason why Greece is the only country in Europe that didn't receive reparations from today's Germany?"

**68.** The arrogance of present day German governments towards Greece is also demonstrated by their refusal to return the archaeological treasures that Nazi Germany whisked away from Greece. This fact alone demonstrates not only arrogance, but their refusal to disengage current Germany from the Nazism that prevailed in Hitler's Third Reich. Since they benefit from the robberies committed by Hitler's army in Greece, and consider that archaeological treasures are the spoils of war, then for all practical purposes they demonstrate their wish to continue in the Nazi footsteps. If that's not true, and

our reasoning is flawed, then why haven't they returned the archaeological treasures and other works of art that the Nazis took from Greece? *Victori spolia?*

– *"There were numerous thefts from museums and archaeological sites throughout the country, several of them corroborated. German officers gave Marshal von Liszt an ancient bust dating back to the 4th century B.C., who took it with him when he returned to Germany. The thefts were actually qualified as "interest in Greek antiquity". Numerous arbitrary and illegal excavations were also carried out throughout the country, as well as archaeological finds that were discovered while working on fortifications or opening roads. These archaeological findings were not turned over to the Directorate of Antiquities and Historical Monuments, but instead were smuggled to Germany"* (Manolis Glezos, *National Resistance 1940-1945*, Editions Στοχαστής, Athens 2006, page 285; in Greek).

**69.** Regarding the amount, there isn't any doubt whatsoever. It was assessed by the 19-member Allied Commission that met in Paris in January, 1946, and it is this amount that Germany must pay. A fundamental and indeed essential question then arises: Why did all the other countries get from Germany the amounts awarded by the Paris Allied Commission, but not Greece? Or stated differently, why has Germany paid all other countries, but not Greece? Does modern-day Germany think that the Third Reich did just fine in robbing Greece, destroying its economy and its people, and devastating Greece through famine, executions and all sorts of atrocities? This question exists and requires an urgent answer.

– See related article by Costas A. Rigas, Professor of the University of Piraeus, in *Οικονομικά Χρονικά* (issue November-December 1996, pages 22-27; in Greek).

**70.** Here too there are alternative versions of the estimates, such as:

– Professor and then Deputy Minister Ath. Sbarounis had calculated damages at \$17 billion (U.S. 1938 value).

– Michael P. Lyberatos writes: *"Greece believed that the damages suffered was on the order of \$16 billion, of which 8.5 billion corresponded to actual ravages"* (in the special edition of the newspaper *Ελευθεροτυπία* entitled *German Restitutions*, page 162; in Greek).

– See also the article by Costas A. Rigas, *ibid.*

**71.** *"Satisfaction of this claim will be yet another tribute to Greek citizens who sacrificed themselves in World War II"* (Athanasios Kalafatis, "The economic disaster in Greece and the legal demands for reparations" in a special edition of the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany, entitled *The Black Bible of the Occupation*, Athens 2006, page 22; in Greek).

– According to Stavros Theofanidis, Professor of Applied Economics at Pandeio University, the compulsory loan comes to \$70 billion (U.S.). (See related articles in *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* of July 23, 1992, and May 26, 1994; in Greek).

– See also the article by Professor Adonis Bredimas of the University of Athens "The occupation loan: An alternative prospect of vindication?" (*Νομικό Βήμα*, September 2010, Vol. 58, pages 1609-1633; in Greek).

**72.** *"Since 1990, when Germany's obligation was reconfirmed, the deferment of outstanding compensation and reparations was no longer valid. But since 1990, the subject has not been broached. In 1995, I felt we had an obligation, as Prefectural Administration of Boeotia, exactly because Boeotia had paid a heavy price in blood during the German Occupation, to reopen the matter and chose a path that could yield results -- the courts, the only way that could yield results. For this reason we invited the residents of Distomo, assuming they wanted to claim the compensation which they were entitled to per International Law, to authorize the Prefect of Boeotia to start judicial proceedings on their behalf"* (Yannis Stamoulis, "Crimes against humanity punishable by international law", in *Black Bible*, Athens 2006, pages 31-32).

**73.** *"The German State in the trials that followed pleaded extraterritoriality from prosecution, i.e., that Greek courts were not competent to try these cases (and there were Greek Courts of First Instance that accepted this argument and declared themselves incompetent to try Greek civil lawsuits against the German State). Other*

*Courts of First Instance, like the one in Livadia, Aigio, etc., rejected this plea and declared themselves competent to hear the victims of Distomo and of other areas. Characteristic of the error of the Courts of First Instance that accepted the argument of extraterritoriality, is the fact that the Court of First Instance of Karlsruhe (in Germany), which conducted the hearing of a lawsuit of a Greek migrant against the German government for property damages he suffered from the German occupation forces, declared itself incompetent on the grounds that the jurisdiction in such cases was held by Greek courts" (Evangelos Machairas, "Private claims against the German government and decisions of the courts," in the book *The Judgment of History Regarding German Reparations*, Athens 2002, pages 23 -24).*

74. *"To general astonishment, the President of the Supreme Court, Stephanos Matthias and four other Supreme Court justices dissented (!) accepting the views of the German government. [...] Unfortunately, Stephanos Matthias didn't limit himself to a dissenting opinion [...] but in rendering a judgment in the First Division of the Supreme Court in another appeal of the German government against a decision of the Court of Appeals, he committed two additional serious errors: a) his failure to exempt himself from the hearing by the 1st Division of the Supreme Court violated Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which stipulates that all EU citizens have the right to a fair trial, and consequently it is not permissible for a judge who has already expressed an opinion on the legal merits of a case, to try a similar case in another court; and b) he overruled the recommendation of Supreme Court Justice D. Linos, according to which this Division of the Supreme Court also had to reject the appeal, in line with the decision No. 11/2000 of the Plenum, and referred the case to the Supreme Special Court alleging that there were doubts about the issue of extraterritoriality that should be resolved" (Evangelos Machairas, *ibid*, pages 27-29).*

75. *"The reasoning is absolutely faulty, because even if Stefanos Matthias had doubts regarding the inadmissibility of extraterritoriality on the grounds that it was accepted by two or three Courts of First Instance in suits brought by victims of Nazi atrocities against the German government, he should have been aware of the fact that they were resolved by No. 11/2000 final decision of the Plenary Session of the Supreme Court. Further, it is a mistake to think that the doubt is based on the weak dissenting opinion in the aforementioned ruling of the Plenum of the Supreme Court, because dissenting opinions are integral parts of rulings, and don't stand on their own. Consequently, since there is no judgment rendered by another higher court (e.g., Council of State, Court of Auditors) at variance with the Supreme Court decision No. 11/2000, there is no controversy in this legal matter, and therefore the Supreme Special Court had no jurisdiction in this case" (Evangelos Machairas, *ibid*, p 29).*

– The recommendation on March 3, 2001, of Thalys Polychronakos, lawyer, member of the Athens Bar Association, on the subject of extraterritoriality, is recorded as Annex #2, pages 197-203 of the original 2012 edition of this book..

76. *"Now we've seen everything. By a margin of one vote, the highest judges of the country declared the Greek courts incompetent to try the claims of victims of the Nazi occupation. I urge the legal experts of the country to finally take a stand. I appeal to the conscience of every official who reached this ruling to give me an answer to this question: where should the cases of victims of Nazi atrocities be heard, if they cannot be heard in Greece and neither in Germany, according to rulings of the German courts? Where, then, should they be heard? In Bangladesh?" (statement of Manolis Glezos published in the press, and in the monthly newsletter of the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany, *Memory and Debt*, issue 49, October 2002). An answer, unfortunately, has not been forthcoming.*

– See also the resolution of March 3, 2001, of the General Assembly of the Hellenic Bar Association, which accused the Greek Government, stating that *"by its entire attitude, it helped create a climate in which conditions inimical to the national issue of German reparations were allowed to prevail" (Memory and Debt, issue 30, March 2001).*

77. *In the other countries of the European Union, the signature of the Minister of Justice is not required to confiscate property pursuant to a court decision, which is why the residents of Distomo, encouraged by the late John Stamoulis, appealed to the Italian Justice, which vindicated them.*

According to the Court of Appeals in Florence, all the courts in every country of the European

Union are obliged to execute the decision, so that auctions can proceed normally.

**78.** University professors Stelios Perrakis and Adonis Bredimas, as plenipotentiaries of the Republic of Greece, argued that the principle of extraterritoriality cannot apply in war crime cases and cases involving brutal violation of human rights, thus depriving victims of those acts of the right to appeal to courts of their country.

Attending the International Court in The Hague were: from ΣΥΡΙΖΑ, Theodore Dritsas and Theodore Paraskevopoulos; from the Democratic Left, N. Tsoukalis and Gregory Psarianos; from ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, Aristomenes Syngelakis and Makis Balaouras; as well as the mayors of Kalavryta and Distomo, and the attorney for the victims' relatives, Kelly Stamouli.

**79.** – Comments about the ruling at The Hague include the following:

- *"The Greek government will study it carefully, in light of its unshakeable and long-standing position that the issue of German reparations remains open",* declared the Foreign Ministry spokesman.

- *"This decision does not deal with the substance of the matter of war reparations, nor is it in line with European values or with the Greek people's sense of justice, and more generally with that of the people of Continental Europe. In no way should the issue of war reparations be deemed closed",* declared New Democracy spokesman Yannis Michelakis.

- *"It clearly follows a conservative line, with an extremely narrow interpretation of existing international law, including Customary International Law. In any case [...] the fight for German reparations continues, and it means that the state, i.e., the Greek Republic, should now proceed to make its claims in an official manner,"* declared Professor Stelios Perrakis.

- *"The ruling of the Court in The Hague validates the perception that it only finds for the states and not for the citizens. The effort of the Greek people continues, but every Greek government must by now understand that it should not be out of step with the law and the history of this land and the victims of Nazi atrocities. The issue is highly political and must be solved by the Greek government through the vigorous assertion of Greek claims",* declared Manolis Glezos.

- *"I greet the decision of The Hague with indignation and tears. We mourn our dead and the victims of Distomo again. No extra-territoriality and no statute of limitations can cancel war crimes",* declared the Vice President of the Greek Parliament, Byron Polidoras.

- *"No one, no ruling of no court can distort History,"* declared Member of Parliament Asterios Rodoulis.

**80.** See also the book by Professor John K. Cholevas *War Reparations* (Editions Πελασγός, Athens 1995; in Greek), where the author, *inter alia* emphasizes: *"American entrepreneurs who had created financial interests in Germany lobbied the then U.S. President Hoover, who in his address of 1931, proposed a general suspension of payments for a year. With the sole reaction coming from France, the proposal was accepted, and it seemed that the issue of payment of German reparations from World War I was heading for burial. Indeed the burial took place at the Lausanne Conference in 1932. Germany stated that it could not pay reparations, not then and not in the future, unless there was a general economic recovery. This brash statement, however, was backed by Britain, the U.S. and Italy. The headstone was laid by Hitler, who unimpeded and assertive, denounced the Treaty of Versailles in its totality and therefore its part as well that concerned the payment of war reparations to the Pyrrhic Allied victors. Thus Germany evaded paying damages, and brilliantly allocated to its military preparations for the Second World War the funds that would have accrued to the beneficiaries!"* (p. 28).

– For this reason the Greek National Council for War Reparation Claims Against Germany proclaims: *"Even if the debt were just one Deutschemark, Germany must pay it as a guarantee that similar outrages against humanity will not recur in the future."*

**81.** Emergency Law 384 (GG A145, June 8, 1945) and Supplementary Emergency Law 1080 (GG A93, March 9, 1946)

**82.** The British government extradited the following German generals to Greece: Friedrich Wilhelm

Müller; the so-called "Butcher of Crete", and his predecessor Bruno Brauer. In November of 1946, they were tried by the Special Military Court for the execution of 3,000 Cretans, and sentenced to death on December 9, 1946. On May 20, 1947, on the 7th anniversary of the German invasion of Crete, they were executed in Haidari.

– In relation to this, see the article of Evangelos Hekimogloyu titled "Trials of war criminals in Greece", published in a special edition of the newspaper *Ελευθεροτυπία* entitled *The Nuremberg Trial*, February, 2011, pages 147-154

**83.** Maximilian Merten, Captain, a public prosecutor of Nazi Germany, came to Greece in April, 1942; he settled in Thessalonica, with his adjutant Meissner, and led the effort to persecute the Jews.

– Parliamentary transcripts indicate that the following dialogue took place between the leader of the opposition (ΕΔΑ), J. Pasalidis, and Prime Minister Costas Karamanlis regarding the issue of Merten's "revelations" in a session of Parliament on October 5, 1960:

J. PASALIDIS: What are we to understand then? That they blackmailed you? When the issue was discussed in Parliament, T. Makris, presenting himself as a protagonist in the battle against those who objected to the release of Merten, reached the point of saying that the leftists are traitors and that he prefers war criminals over communists. Now here comes the person carrying favor with Minister Makris, Merten, a true ingrate, and thumbs his nose at him. He [Makris] can have him [Merten]. You convicted Merten and eight months later you let him go. You got mixed up with Merten on your own. Why don't you just tell us why you released him? Were you being blackmailed, as he says, and did you give in to blackmail?

K. KARAMANLIS: The government's handling of the Merten case proves exactly the opposite of what you are trying to show. If the government had reasons to fear Merten, it could have, citing the André precedent, released him immediately following his arrest. Or it could have, following his arrest, elected not to bring him to trial. Or after bringing him to trial, it could have let him rot in prison or put him before a firing squad. However, because we decided that given the good relations between the two countries, the past should be brought to an end, after branding him and condemning him to 25 years imprisonment, we sent him back to his country, which is why he hates the Greek government.

J. PASALIDIS: You maintain that you released Merten to maintain good relations with the Bonn government. In other words, the Bonn government insisted that you should let their Hitlerite friend go free.

(*The News*, December 21, 1999)

**84.** I know firsthand, because during the same period, I was in Averof prison in a section other than the one where Merten was being held prisoner. On that day of November 5, 1959, in the middle of the night, just before dawn, a guard came and told me of Merten's release. It should be noted that the outside prison gates normally remain closed from sunset to sunrise, and are not permitted to open. They were opened only for executions. Whereupon those who had been sentenced to death were taken from their prison cells and brought out to be executed.

**85.** Trials did take place in Germany, but no war criminal was convicted. The same scene was played out in all of them: *"You are accused of committing these offenses in Greece". "I was just following the orders of my superiors." "Not guilty!"*

**86 .For the complete Bonn Treaty, signed by Greek Ambassador Thomas Ypsilantiss, and A.H. vonScherpenberg on behalf of the (Western) Federal Republic, see Annex Document #3 on page 204 of the original 2012 edition of this book.**

**87.** The condition, moreover, of Greek workers in Germany, and their everyday life, are vividly described in Fontas Ladis' songs *Letters from Germany*, which were set to music by Mikis Theodorakis.

**88.** That is, reparations totaling \$7.1 billion dollars, and the compulsory loan of \$3.5 billion (U.S., 1938 market value).

The curious thing is that they didn't try to include the archaeological treasures in this agreement.

**89.** A copy of the letter is recorded as Annex Document #4 on pages 205 of the original 2012 edition of this book.

**90.** When informed of the existence of the agreement, relatives of Resistance fighters who had been executed submitted the required applications with all the necessary back-up documents. Then they learned that each victim would receive 36,000 drachmas, and in the end they received only the first installment, i.e., 18,000 drachmas.

Note that the lawyer's fee and costs amounted to 1,000 drachmas and, in some cases, 7,000 drachmas.

It is not known how the amount of 18,000 drachmas per victim was arrived at, or for that matter, who did it.

**91.** The hostages in Greece were either incarcerated in the 26 Greek concentration camps, or were transferred to extermination camps in Poland, Austria and Germany. Their total number was about 162,000. Of these, 105,000 died or were executed in Germany, and 56,225 were executed in Greece.

**92.** According to data from the Central Bureau of Jewish Communities in Greece, 77,377 Greek citizens of Jewish descent were arrested in Greece, and transferred to Nazi concentration camps in Germany, Austria and Poland. After the end of the war, only 10,228 were found in Greece. In other words Greece lost 86% of its Jewish population. The survivors include 275 from Zante, who were not captured thanks to the residents of the island who hid them and to the Metropolitan Chrysostomos (Bishop of Zante), and the Mayor of Zante, Loucas Karrer, both of whom refused to turn Jewish residents over to the Germans. . They also include 800 who joined ΕΛΑΣ and fought in the war as partisans, others who asked to go to the Middle East and were smuggled out of the country by the National Liberation Front, while most were hidden by Greek families.

– According to my data, of the 77,377 Greek citizens of Jewish descent, 69,151 were sent to Germany, and only 2,000 returned.

– See the book of the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece entitled *Young People in the Maelstrom of Occupied Greece*, page 13, and *Black Bible of the Occupation*, published by ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, page 68 (in Greek).

**93.** The German government at first attempted to split three ways the source of the funds that would be used to compensate hostages sent to forced labor camps. One-third would come from the German State, another one-third from industrialists who had used hostages in their factories, and the final one-third from a special tax levied on German citizens. German citizens, however, fought hard to be exempted from this tax. Thus, the amount would be shared equally between the German government and the German industrial firms. Although 2,448 companies had used the hostages sent to them by the SS as forced labor, they were not willing to contribute their pro-rated amounts, estimated at 30,000-40,000 Marks for each prisoner.

–See the monthly bulletin of the Greek National Council for Reparation Claims Against Germany, *Μνήμη και Χρέος*, issue 13 (December, 1999); 15 (June, 2000); and 24 (September, 2000).

**94.** The Coordinating Committee of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ immediately formed a special committee with Charalambos Roupas (Secretary) and Kostas Papagiannis, Peter Kouloufakos and Gerasimos Balaouras (members) to represent ΕΣΔΟΓΕ at the ΔΟΜ headquarters in Geneva.

– The first meeting of the Special Office of ΔΟΜ convened in Geneva on January 8, 2001, where ΕΣΔΟΓΕ spokesman Gerasimos Balaouras also participated.

**95. His treatise on war crimes and the issue of extraterritoriality is recorded as Annex Document #8 , on pages 212-221 of the original 2012 edition of this book.**

**96.** In the governmental responses to questions posed by the delegates, one can find all the ostensible, verbal richness of diplomatic language, not only to excuse the failure to demand payment of Germany's debts to Greece, but also that we might "admire" each government's handling of the matter. Compiled from the multitude of excuses are the following:

– From the speech of the Minister for Coordination and Planning, P. Papaligouras to Parliament on January 10, 1977. Turning to the delegates of the Communist Party, he said: *"I do not know when time will be propitious to raise the issue. Whenever you're voted in to office, if you are, get it [the money]... if you can"*.

– In response to Members of Parliament D. Kostopoulos, Or. Kolozof, A. Skyllakos, in 1994: *"The issue remains politically open [...] it will get the attention it deserves with a view to truly serve public interest."*

– In response to the interpellation of delegate Stratis Korakas in 1995: *"The government will take all necessary steps not only to restore our compromised national dignity, but also to receive an actual payment of reparations as well as the return of the monies from the compulsory loan [...]. [Have] a little patience, dear fellow delegates, and you will surely commend the government for its results."*

– In response to Members of Parliament D. Kostopoulos, Sp. Striftaris, Str. Korakas in 1996: *"The government's position has been broadcasted repeatedly, and is perfectly clear. It is determined to exhaust all provisions of the international legal order for the purpose of satisfying Greece's historically guaranteed and legally established claims. This will be our firm stance, and will be held to regardless of whether the German side responds in the negative, or refuses to respond at all"*.

– In response to the interpellation of delegate G. Katsibardis' question in 1997: *"The government believes that all existing or future means of settling the issue out of courts and through negotiations must first be exhausted"*.

– In response to Members of Parliament Sp. Chalvatzis, Thanasis Pafilis, Liana Kanelli, G. Marinos, Ad. Skyllakos in 2010: *"Greece never gave up its claims, and therefore the issue exists in the framework of our bilateral relations with Germany."*

– In response to the interpellation of delegate Sp. Lafazanis in 2011: *"Greece, taking into account the situation in its bilateral and international relations, and considering these parameters, raises regularly the whole issue in the framework of bilateral meetings. [...] Greece never gave up its claims."*

**97.** As a founding member of ΠΕΑΕΑ, I have firsthand knowledge of the matter. Together with the late Themistocles Zaphiropoulos, I had raised the issue of German debts to Greece from the very first post-liberation years.

I remember, in fact, that some twenty years after the end of World War II, in 1966, when I was invited to East Berlin to attend ceremonies, I proposed, and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Greece agreed, to raise the issue of German debts with the President of East Germany, Ulbricht, during our meeting. Which is what happened.

Regarding this subject, I told the Secretary of the Communist Party of East Germany and its President, the following: *"As a representative of ΕΔΑ, and spokesperson for the Communist Party of Greece, I hereby inform you that there is an outstanding German debt to Greece [on which subject I went into some detail]. The problem is an open sore for us Greeks, and we wish to have your support too"*. He didn't respond to me on this topic. In my speech to the Greek Parliament on August 19, 1982, I referred to my meeting with Ulbricht, describing what transpired (see Parliamentary Proceedings, Summer 1982, page 720).

**98.** Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitris Dollis responded as follows to a question posed by KKE delegate Sp. Chalvatzis: *"No government has given up our demands regarding the occupation loan or the war reparations of Germany, and neither have we. We reserve the right to take steps to achieve the best possible solution. The issue of the occupation loan as a war event is still with us, and therefore open to settlement under the rules of international law"* (in the newspapers, December 3, 2010).

**99.** The Members of Parliament who submitted the proposal were: a) from ΣΥΡΙΖΑ Alexis Tsipras,

Panagiotis Lafazanis, Theodore Dritsas, Vassilis Moulopoulos, Dimitris Papadimoulis; b) from ΠΑΣΟΚ Panagiotis Antonakopoulos, Sifis Valyrakis, Leonidas Grigorakos, Elias Theodoridis, Eva Kaili, Dimitris Karidis, Anna Dalara, Thanos Papadopoulos, Dimitris Papoutsis, Maria Skrafnaki, Paul Stassinou, Vassilis Toghias, Vaso Tsonoglou; c) from New Democracy Kostas Markopoulos, Costas Tzavaras, Maximos Charakopoulos, Kostas Karagounis; d) the independent Panos Kammenos, Vassilis Oikonomou, Vangelis Papachristou; and e) from ΔΗΜΑΡ (independent at the time) Sophia Sakorafa, Panagiotis Kouroubli, and Nick Tsoukalis.

**100.** The relevant Ministers Evangelos Venizelos and Stavros Dimas failed to attend the joint session of March 15, 2012, and therefore a new date was set.

Regarding the adjournment of the meeting, the minutes of the joint session indicate the following:

- P. Kouroubli: *"It's no coincidence that the issue remained on the political sidelines."*
- Sp. Chalvatzis: *"This confirms that somewhere along the line, the Minister of Finance stopped the process and blocked the other Ministers."*
- Kostas Tzavaras: *"The discussion requires the presence of the Ministers."*
- Paul Markakis: *"They're hiding from the people, and hiding from Parliament."*
- Dora Bakoyanni: *"There's an attempt to go into the election campaign without a discussion of this matter."*

**101.** The first Coordinating Committee members of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ were: 1. Apostolidis Paschalis, Student A.Π., Thessalonica; 2. Manolis Glezos, journalist; 3. Voula Damianakou, writer; 4. Athanasios Koulousios, President Chamber of Trade Crafts, Thessalonica; 5. Eugenia Koutsoulieri, author-journalist; 6. Mina Kogou-Mavroidi, retired from Hellenic Telecommunications Organization; 7. George Leolios, farmer, President of ΠΑΣΕΓΕΣ; 8. Magdalene Litina, archaeologist, scholar; 9. George Magakis, lawyer, university professor, Member of Parliament; 10. Constantine Mallios, lawyer, member of the Central Board of Jewish Communities, 11. Evangelos Machairas, lawyer, former President of ΔΣΑ; 12. Makis Balaouras, economist, union member of ΟΤΟΕ; 13. Themistocles Nikolaidis, president of the Thessalonica Chamber of Commerce; 14. Manolis Pandouvakis, civil engineer, Vice-president of Kritikis Estias; and 15. Yannis Stamoulis, lawyer, Prefect of Boeotia.

– The current Coordinating Committee of ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, which set up the 9th Council Meeting on April 3, 2011, is made up of: 1. Dimitris Alevromagiras; 2. Stella Alifieri; 3. Demosthenes Antoniadis; 4. Ignatius Axiotis; 5. Garifallia Argyropoulou; 6. Theophano Argyropoulou; 7. Gregory Vakalopoulos; 8. Michael Vardanis; 9. Damianos Vassiliadis; 10. Andrew Giannouloupoulos; 11. Stelios Giatroudakis; 12. George Gouramanis; 13. Manolis Glezos; 14. Voula Damianakou; 15. Harry Daskalakis; 16. Spiros Dilidas; 17. George Dolianitis; 18. Charilaos Ermidis; 19. Dimitris Zamanis; 20. Stelios Zamanos; 21. Constantine Ioakimidis; 22. Athena Kakoliri; 23. Theodore Kallinos; 24. Theodore Karagiannis; 25. Christos Karidis; 26. George Kassimatis; 27. Manolis Katrivanos 28. George Kokkas; 29. Costas Kondadas; 30. George Korres; 31. Athanasios Koulousios; 32. Peter Kouloufakos; 33. John Kyriakakos; 34. Mina Kogou-Mavroidi; 35. Maria Laina; 36. Stephen Linaios; 37. Nick Liolios; 38. Dimitris Liberopoulos; 39. Constantine Mallios; 40. Notis Marias; 41. John Markakis; 42. John Mavros; 43. Evangelos Machairas; 44. Nick Menegatos; 45. Manolis Miliarakis; 46. Nick Michiotis; 47. Makis Balaouras; 48. Thanasis Brakatsoulas; 49. Themistocles Nicolaidis; 50. Elias Chideas; 51. Manolis Pandouvakis 52. Rodanthi Papagiannaki; 53. Alexander Papadakis; 54. Thanasis Papadopoulos; 55. Litsa Papaioannou; 56. Dimitris Papachristos; 57. Aspasia Penntagiotti; 58. Maria Ploumidou; 59. Vassilis Priovolos; 60. Harry Roupas; 61. Alexandra Santa; 62. Georgia Santa; 63. Adonis Sarigiovannis; 64. John Sidiropoulos; 65. Kelly Stamouli; 66. Christina Stamouli; 67. Aristomenes Syngelakis; 68. Chryssoula Tzumanika; 69. Christos Tolios; 70. Gregory Touglidis; 71. Kostas Toumasatos, 72. Panos Trigazis; 73. Christos Tsintzilonis; 74. Thanasis Tsouknikas; 75. Costas Ypsilanti; 76. Gregory Fotos; 77. Costas Charisis; 78. Dimitris Chadzaropoulos; 79. John Chadziantoniou; 80. Theodosia Chidzoglou; 81. Rita Christidou; 82. George Christodoulakis; and 83. Dimitris Christodoulou.



**102.** In 1995, resistance groups put in the preliminary work needed to establish ΕΣΔΟΓΕ, which was formally set up on January 22, 1996. Since then, the following conferences have been held, in addition to the founding one on January 22: the second on December 5, 1997; the third on January 31, 2000; the 4th on January 22, 2001; the 5th on January 28, 2002; the 6th on January 27, 2003; the 7th on January 24th, 2005; the 8th on February 11, 2008; the 9th on April 3, 2011. All took place in Athens at "ALPHA", a welcoming theatre located at Stournaris and Patission Streets.

**103.** I created the "Phoenix" together with the late Themistocles Zaphiropoulos and Theophano Argyropoulou in 1946.

**104.** The first Board Members were: 1. Athanasios Papadopoulos, Kalavryta; 2. Vassilis Trapalis, Nikaia; 3. Lucas Papachristou, Distomo; 4. Theodore Christodoulou, 5. Constantine Kontadas, Kandanos; 6. George Pappas; 7. George Nicoloulis.

**105.** These towns and villages are: 1. Municipality of Kalavryta (Achaea Prefecture); 2. Municipality of Nea Angchialos (Prefecture of Magnesia); 3. Municipality of Amfipoli (Prefecture of Serres); 4. Municipality of Ypati (Prefecture of Phthiotis); 5. Municipality of Paramythia (Prefecture of Thesprotia); 6. Municipality of Amfissa (Prefecture of Phocis); 7. Municipality of Perasma (Prefecture of Florina); 8. Municipality of Elassona (Prefecture of Larissa); 9. Municipality of Agios Dimitrios (Prefecture of Ioannina); 10. Municipality of Nikaia (Prefecture of Attica); 11. Municipality of Tympaki (Prefecture of Heraklion); 12. Municipality of Galaxidi (Prefecture of Phocis); 13. Municipality of Aetos (Prefecture of Messenia); 14. Municipality of Ierapetra (Prefecture of Lasithi); 15. Municipality of Foinikas (Prefecture of Rethymno); 16. Municipality of Kourites (Prefecture of Rethymno); 17. Municipality of Doxato (Prefecture of Drama); 18. Community of Lechovo (Prefecture of Florina); 19. Municipality of Potamia (Prefecture of Larissa); 20. Municipality of Zaros (Prefecture of Heraklion); 21. Municipality of Agria (Prefecture of Magnesia); 22. Municipality of Krousonas (Prefecture of Heraklion); 23. Municipality of Distomo (Prefecture of Boeotia); 24. Municipality of Voukolies (Prefecture of Chania); 25. Municipality of Mythimna (Prefecture of Chania); 26. Municipality of Anatoliko Selino (Prefecture of Chania); 27. Municipality of Kandanos (Prefecture of Chania); 28. Municipality of Perama (Prefecture of Ioannina); 29. Municipality of Eleios-Pronnoi (Prefecture of Kefalonia); 30. Community of Kommemo (Prefecture of Arta); 31. Municipality of Viannos (Prefecture of Heraklion); 32. Municipality of Hortiatis (Prefecture of Thessalonica); 33. Municipality of Kleisoura (Prefecture of Kastoria); 34. Municipality of Karla (Prefecture of Magnesia); 35. Municipality of Lampi (Prefecture of Rethymno); 36. Municipality of Vermio (Prefecture of Kozani); 37. Municipality of Drama (Prefecture of Drama).

**106.** The hospitality was truly gracious. My wife and I were quite impressed during our stay. We were greeted by the Mayor himself, who throughout our stay in Hannover had raised the Greek flag at the City Hall.

**107.** Germany holds various events. On June 6-8, 2003, they organized a conference in Mittenwald, Bavaria, about the atrocities by the Wehrmacht in Greece, and in support of compensation of the victims. Every year since then, they organize demonstrations in Mittenwald.

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*The contemptuous, belittling and degrading behavior of Germany towards Greece, cruel and mocking, seems at first glance inexplicable, and understandably raises several questions.*

What's going on? Why this brutal conduct? This attitude requires us, first and foremost, to recall what the Greek people suffered from the German troops during the Occupation in World War II – the whole plan to break up Greece by dismembering it and to exterminate the Greek people through genocide – to clarify for the reader the outstanding obligations of Germany, to highlight its debts to Greece and, above all, to highlight the essential and moral aspects of the problem. We seek to examine a variety of viewpoints so that readers can understand what is at stake. Our aim is to ferret out the issue of German debts to Greece, which has been buried in the tartars of oblivion because of, on the one hand, German vindictiveness, and on the other, the fury against the Resistance. We are not filled with hatred towards the German people. We wish fervently for friendship between the people of Greece and Germany. But there can be no friendship without fairness

# GERMANY'S DEBTS TO GREECE

## 162 BILLION EURO PLUS 70 YEARS INTEREST

GENOCIDE OF THE GREEK PEOPLE

THE COST OF THE OCCUPATION IN BLOOD AND TOIL

A DISHONORED CHECK

Even if the debt were just one Deutsche mark,  
Germany has the legal, historic,  
but above all the moral obligation  
to settle its debts to Greece

